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MALLADI BALASUBRAHMANYAM

THE SNAKE-SIMILE IN SUTTA NIPATA AND SANSKRIT EPICS

1.1 T.W. Rhys Davids made an admirable survey of the social, economic and ethico-religious artifacts of Indian culture in the time of Gautama Budha, and he wrote that it was "in this period that India came nearest to having a *golden age*. And the learned ornate poetry of later times is to the literature of this period what the systematisations and learned commentaries of Buddhaghosa and Samkara are to the daring speculations and vivid life of the early *upaniṣads* and the four *Nikāyas*."[1]

1.2 In my opinion the Indian culture vividly portrayed by the two national Epics of India - the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* (=MBh) - as well as scholastic Pali Buddhism, as enshrined in the oldest canonical texts, paint a picture of the *Second Golden Age* of Indian History. I may mention in this connection that the golden age of Indian history may be marked by three stages in its historical development: Vedic culture in the first stage, Epic and Pali Budhist civilisation in the second stage and the Gupta era in the third stage.[2]

1.3 During the second golden age, we see the rise and evolution of *ākhyānas*(> Pali *akkhāna*), dialogue verses (*Yakṣapraśna* in Mbh. and the *Ālavakasutta* in the *Sutta Nipāta* Pali), eithical narratives, sacred ballads and the

characteristic refrains or typical repetitive phrases such as *urago jiṇṇam iva tacaṃ purāṇam* in the *Suttanipāta* (= SN) Pali and *yathorags tvacaṃ jīrṇam* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and again *eṣa dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ* in Mbh., corresponding to *esa dhammo sanāntano* of the *Dhammapada* Pali[3] and so on.

1.4 A Sanskritist who is a Buddhalogist at the same time, will not fail to observe the striking identical views between the systems of Pali Buddhism and Sanskrit ethico-religious thought as manifested in the refrains. The Pali ballads in prose and verse such as those sung by rhapsodists (or the *sūtas* in the ancient tradition), comprising numerous popular, basic ethico-religious material, are referred to under the technical term of *ākhyāna* which is one of the oldest documents in India.[4] The Sanskrit epics are said to have evolved from this stage of rhapsodic *ākhyānas* such as the *Saṃkṣepa-Rāmāyaṇa* of Sage Nārada, which grew into the grand epic of Maharṣi Vālmīki and correspondingly the *Jaya* developed into the greatest epic in world literature as the *Mahābhārata*, *via* the *Bhārata*. The doctrines relating to *dharma* and *nīti* were superimposed upon the bardic religio-ethical and historical materials sung by the rhapsodists.[5]

1.5 The Hindu ascetics and the Buddhist monks of ancient times, who lived abstemiously in every respect, spread the message of human culture from door to door by travelling from one region to the other. Quite in keeping with the *sūta* tradition, they sang the glory of Indian culture through ballad poetry, narratives, sermons and dialogues on *ākhyānas*. That the mellifluous poetry of sage Vālmīki - an *ākhyāna* par excellence - was recited by Śrī Rāma's illustrious twins, Lava and Kuśa in the city of Ayodhyā, as instructed by the epic poet cum seer, Vālmīki, is stated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*; and this is expressed in the following terms:

āścaryam idam ākhyānam
muninā saṃprakīrtitam /
paraṃ kavinā ādhāraṃ
samāptaṃ ca yathākramam // [6]

and

yathoktam ṛṣiṇā pūrvaṃ tatra tatra abhyagāyatām//[7] Concomitantly Mbh too is declared an *ākhyāna.* I quote the appropriate verse in the *Svargārohaṇaparva* (18.5.53) which runs as under:

mahābhāratam ākhyānaṃ
yaḥ paṭhet susamāhitaḥ /
sa gacchet paramām iddhim
iti me nāsti saṃśayaḥ //

2.1 The snake-simile, *urago jiṇṇaṃ iva tacaṃ purāṇam,* occurs as a refrain in SN[8] in the section entitled, *Uraga-sutta* which contains 17 stanzas; each stanza ends with the snake-simile cited above. This refrain, in other words, recurs in all the 17 stanzas.

2.2 As a matter of fact, the refrain or the repetitive phrase is a characteristic feature of bardic poetry.[9] A careful, critical and comparative study of the gnomic poetry of Mbh; and the Pali ascetic poems will clearly indicate that a good number of ethical maxims foreshadowed in the Pali canon is strikingly reminiscent of almost identical views found in Mbh.

A fine example of the snake-simile is cited in the *Uragavagga* of NS. I quote the first verse here:

yo uppatitaṃ vineti kodhaṃ
visataṃ sappavisaṃ va osadhehi /
so bhikkhu jahāti oraparaṃ
urago jiṇṇam iva tacaṃ purāṇam //

This verse is rendered in English as under:

He who gives up anger which has arisen

Like snake-poison diffused through the body, is cured by medicine,

That monk quits bounds both here and yon

Like a snake which casts off its old decayed skin.

2.3 A striking parallel to the Pāli verse occurs in the *Sundarakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hanumān, after meeting Sītā in the *Aśoka-vana,* set fire to Laṅkā. Later Rāma's messenger was filled with remorse, because he thought that the conflagration might have burnt Sītā too. He was deeply disturbed in his mind for his hasty behaviour or angry temperament with which he acted. Consequently the following thought arose in his mind -

yaḥ samutpatitaṃ krodhaṃ
kṣamayaiva nirasyati /
yathoragas tvacam jīrṇam
sa vai puruṣa ucyate // (5.55.6)

According to Hanumān, 'he who gives up anger through forbearance, like a snake casts off its decayed slough, is, indeed, declared to be a great man'. The moral lesson emanating from this verse is that a really great person gives up his anger through forbearance, like a snake abandons its slough.

The same simile occurs in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* of Vālmikī's *Rāmāyaṇa* (3.5.39). The Divine Sage Śarabhaṅga declares to Śrī Rāmacandra that he would not enter into the abode of Brahman (*Brahmaloka*) unless and until he could meet the prince of Ayodhyā. He also declares -

yāvaj jahāmi gātrāṇi jīrṇaṃ tvacam iva uragaḥ /

that 'Rāma should see him for a moment as and when he would abandon his limbs (body) like a snake casting off its old decayed slough'. To put it particularly, the sage wants to give up his body like a snake its old skin. The

Rāmāyaṇa verse (5.55.6c) containing the snake-simile, carries an avowed pedagogical aim or an ethical principle, that is to say, he who gives up anger that has arisen, through the power of forbearance, will be regarded as a real man, just as a snake casts off its old slough.

2.4 Correspondingly the *Mahābhārata* (12,212,48) uses the same snake-simile together with the analogy of a deer abandoning its old horn without looking at it again. To quote the Mbh (*Śāntiparva, Mokṣadharmaparva*) verse:

> *yathā ruruḥ śṛṅgam atho purāṇam*
> *hitvā tvacaṃ vāpy urago yathāvat* /
> *vihāya gacchaty anavekṣamāṇas*
> *tathā vimukto vijahāti duḥkham* //

The two similies enhance the value of the deontological concept that an ascetic, unmindful of craving and other hindrances, casts off suffering like a deer abandons its old horn without looking at it again - or (to use another simile) - like a snake gives up its old worn-out slough.

2.5 The simile of the snake casting off its slough (*urago jiṇṇam iva tacam purāṇam*) seems to be popular in Pāli ballad poetry as well as in Sanskrit epics. In SN, the simile has been introduced to give importance to the moralistic discipline of a Buddhist monk (*bhikkhu*) that he should renounce 'this world and the beyond' (*orapāraṃ* SN,I,1). It has also been introduced to describe the body at death.

The seventeen stanzas of SN.I.1 show that 'the monk overcomes anger, lust, craving, arrogance, hatred, doubts, perplexities and other impediments. He finds no essence in all forms of being. He sees everything as void being free from covetousness, passion, malevolence and delusion. He eradicates all evil tendencies with no leanings whatsoever towards them. He is free from all such qualities which form the basis for earthly existence, and he destroys all obstacles. He verily is the *bhikkhu* who shuns both

'here and the beyond' as a serpent casts its old and worn-out slough'.[10]

It deserves mention in this connection that the term *ura-ga* (belly-crawler) signifies five principles. These are:

(i) It has superior strength;

(ii) It has the capacity to change at will;

(iii) It casts off its slough with ease;

(iv) It possesses two tongues; and

(v) It has the capacity to live even in fire.

The *uraga* and fire possess *tejas*.[11]

A comparative study of the snake-simile found in SN with Sanskrit epics, evidently reveals that early Buddhist ascetics not only used the same traditional floating literary corpus but also made use of the same ethical precepts common to the earlier Sanskrit literature.[12] Correspondingly the riddle poetry, attested in SN such as the *Alavaka Sutta* and other dialogue ballads in which a *yakkha* (= Sanskrit *yakṣa-*) asks questions, has parallels in the *Mahābhārata*.[13] Furthermore the ballads contain many passages and ideas common to the early *upaniṣads*, as has already been shown by Katre in his book, *Early Buddhist Ballads and their Relation to Older Upaniṣadic Literature*. To put it particularly, besides the similarities that SN bears to the Sanskrit epics, it has much in common with the early *upaniṣads* in form and thought.

3.1 In addition to the occurrence of the snake-simile in the epic texts[14] already cited above, its origin goes back *sensu stricto* to the Upaniṣadic times. It is attested in the *Praśnopaniṣad* (=PU. 5.5) and the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* (=BU. 4.4.7). The former (PU) teaches us that he who meditates on the Supreme *puruṣa* with the utterance of the sacred syllable *OM* - comprising the three moras (*matras*: *a*,*u* and *m*) - becomes united with the effulgent Sun. He

is freed from all sins, just as 'a snake is freed from its slough'. This is expressed in the follwing terms in PU.5.5:

> *sa punar etaṃ trimātreṇa om ity*
> *etena eva akṣareṇa paraṃ puruṣam*
> *abhidhyāyīta sa tejasi sūrye sampannaḥ /*
> *yathā pādodaras tvacā vinirmucyata*
> *evaṃ ha vai sa pāpmanā vinirmuktaḥ*
> *... puruṣam ikṣate /*

Śaṃkara-bhagavatpāda's commentary on the snake-simile runs as under:

> *yathā pādodaraḥ sarpas tvacā vinirmucyate jīrṇa-tvagvinirmuktaḥ sa punar navo bhavati*[15].

The latter *upaniṣad* (BU) too at IV.4.7 has made capital use of the snake-similitude, and the text reads as under:

> *tad eṣa śloko bhavati. yadā sarve pramucyante kāmā ye asya hṛdi śritāḥ / atha martyo 'mṛto bhavaty atra brahma samaśnuta iti. tad yathā ahi-nirlvayanī valmīke mṛtā pratyasthā śayīta evam eva idaṃ śarīram śete atha ayam aśarīro 'mṛtaḥ prāṇo brahmaiva teja eva so 'haṃ bhagavate sahasraṃ dadāmīti hovāca janako vaidehaḥ.*

Śaṃkara-bhagavatpāda's commentary on BU. 4.4.7 is worth quoting here:

> *tat tatra ayaṃ dṛṣṭānto yathā loke 'hiḥ sarpas tasya nirlvayani nirmokaḥ sā ahih nirlvayanī valmīke sarpāśraye valmīkādāv ity arthaḥ. mṛtā pratyastā prakṣiptā anātmabhāvena sarpeṇa parityaktā śayīta varteta. evam eva yathāyaṃ dṛṣṭānta idaṃ śarīraṃ sarpasthānīyena muktenānātmabhāvena parityaktaṃ mṛtam iva śete.*

The central idea contained in BU. 4.4.7 is that, when all the cravings or desires (of death) which abide in the heart or intellect of man, have totally disappeared (along with ignorance which is their root), a mortal becomes immortal; that is to say, he attains immortality (Brahman) here itself.

Just as the lifeless slough of a serpent lies, having cast off in an ant-hill, even so the body lies; and the formless, the immortal *prāṇa* is Brahman, is pure light.

Having shown the ethico-religious or the religio-philosophic significance of the snake-analogy in SN on the one hand, and Sanskrit epics, PU and BU on the other, it is now left for me to raise the pertinent question whether the simile is pre-Buddhistic in origin or it is a Buddhist idea incorporated in Sanskrit epics.

Rhys Davids (loc.cit.) thought that the date of the *Mahābhārata* and of the *Rāmāyaṇa* must be later than the ballad literature, preserved in the Pāli *Nikāyas*. Dahlmann in the *Genesis des Mahābhārata* wrote that 'the date of the poem as composed or compiled by the diaskeuast is certainly not later than the fifty century B.C.' V.S. Sukthankar accepted 'MBh. on the whole as a monument of the pre-Buddhist India'.[16] He was the greatest Indian indologist and founder of the critically constituted *Mahābhārata* (BORI, Pona) in his times. Therefore, I consider his judgement on the dating of MBh as very authentic and final.

4.1 Based on the above valid grounds I regard BU as older than the Pāli ballad poetry (SN and other canonical texts). Consequently the early Buddhist ascetics might have borrowed the snake-simile from the upaniṣadic thought. The typical upaniṣadic simile might have been introduced in Pāli ballad poetry at a time when the germs of a religio-philosophic system came to be more logically and consistently systematisd and popularised among Indian literati.

I have reasons to believe that this period may be assigned to 'the second stage of the golden age' of Indian history. This period might have lasted from B.C. 400 to 400 A.D.[17]

4.2 The people of this age have worked out a common *weltanschaung* as a result of meticulously practising the

primeval norm or ideal, that is, the *sanātana-dharma* of the Hindus equated with the *sanātano dhammo* of the Buddhists, based on moralistic faith.

5. The basic principles underlying episodical moralism are: cessation of anger, greed, lust, hatred and possessing calmness, desirelessness, fearlessness, forbearance, gentleness, kindness towards all beings (*maitrī* in Sanskrit and *mettā* in Pāli), nonviolence, righteousness, sinlessness, truthfulness and going from 'home to homelessness'.

REFERENCES

1. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, 102 (Calcutta, 1955).
2. M.D. Balasubrahmanyam, 'Vedic Civilisation', 5-6, *Saptagiri* (Tirupati, 1980); cf. A.D. Pusalkar, *Studies in the Epics and Purāṇas of India*, p.130 (Bombay, 1955), wherein he cites P.P.S. Sastri's article on 'the Mahābhārata Age' which describes the age of the Epic as a golden age.
3. The details of the comparison are vividly portrayed in *'Eṣa dharmaḥ sanātanaḥ* (Sanskrit epicism) and *Esa dhammo sanātano* (Pali Buddhism)", (Madras, 1989-90)
4. Rhys Davids , *op.cit.*, p.100; Also see *the Dialogues of the Buddha,* I.8.
5. Cf. R.N. Dandekar, 'Mahābhārata, Origin and Growth' *University of Ceylon Review'* (=UCR), XII.pp.65-85.
6. *Rāmāyaṇa,* 1.4.20 (Baroda edn.); cf. *ibid.* verse 3: *mahad utpannam ākhyānaṃ rāmāyaṇam iti śrutam* (Madras, 1958).
7. *Uttarakāṇḍa, sarga* 85, verse 7 (Baroda edn.).
8. *Suttanipāta,* ed. Sister Vajira with English translation (Saranath, 1941).

9. Cf. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol.II p. 108 (Calcutta, 1933).
10. N.A. Jayawicrama, 'Sutta Nipāta: The Uraga Sutta' UCR, VII. 1 (Jan. 1949), p.IV.32.
11. Ibid. p.29. According to Ananda Coomaraswamy, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, the dragon is the sacrificer and the sacrifice is connected with the smoke arising from the sacrificial altar.
12. Jayawicrama, 'The Sutta Nipāta: its Title and Form' *UCR* VI.2 (April, 1948), p.85.
13. Winternitz, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.,* Vol. I. p. 352; and P.V. Bapat, *The Nagari edition of Sutta Nipāta,* p.xvii.
14. *jīrṇaṃ tvacam sarpa ivāvamucya: MBh.* 5.39.2; Cf. 12.250.11 (BORI, Poona); also cf. Neumann, *Reden,* p.408.
15. *Ten Principal Upanishads* (with *Śaṅkarabhāṣya),* Reprinted by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1978; and Sri Ramakrishna Math's edition by Swami Sharvananda, Madras, 1950.
16. *On the Meaning of the Mahābhārata,* p.5, Bombay, 1957.
17. Cf. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur,* p.395 (1913).

N.V.P.UNITHIRI

VARIANT READINGS IN THE SIXTH CHAPTER OF NĀṬYAŚĀSTRA

It is wellknown that even Abhinavagupta, the famous tenth century author of the *Abhinavabhāratī* commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, had before him a text that was polluted by many variant readings and interpolations. Recently the present writer had the privilege of examining a well-preserved palm-leaf manuscript of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in Grantha characters, containing the full text, but without *Abhinavabhāratī*, which has been obtained from the private collection of the great Pandit Chennamangalam Ayyasastrigal of Kerala and now lodged in the Manuscripts section of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Calicut. In many readings Kashi edition (1929) keeps similarity with the text in this manuscript and most of those readings are noted in foot-notes in the Gaekwad edition (1926). Based on this new manuscript, an attempt is made here to study some of the readings in the Sixth Chapter of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

P - Palm-leaf Manuscript in the Department of Sanskrit, Calicut University.

N - *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Kāvyamālā edition, Bombay, 1894.

K	- *Nāṭyaśāstra,*	Kashi Sanskrit Series, 60, 1929.
G	- *Nāṭyaśāstra,*	with *Abhinavabhāratī*, Gaekwad series, Baroda, 1926.
B	- *Nāṭyaśāstra,*	with *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Madhusūdanī*, Banaras Hindu University, 1971.
C	- *Nāṭyaśāstra,*	Chowkhamba edition, 1972.
M	- *Nāṭyaśāstra,*	with Malayalam Translation by K.P.N. Pisharoti, Kerala Sahitya Akademi, Trichur, 1971.

A - *Abhinavabhāratī*, Benaras edition, 1971.

We may divide the readings into three groups: I. new and significant readings, II. readings which are not much important, and III. interpolations.

I. NEW AND SIGNIFICANT READINGS

1. *Title of the Sixth chapter*

   रसविकल्पः - P, K, M. - रसाध्यायः A, C, N, G.

2. *Verse i.*

   किन्त्वल्पसूत्रगूढार्थ- .... ग्रन्थार्थः N, B, C, M, A.
   मनुमानप्रसाधकम् P, K सूत्रग्रन्थयोर्लक्षणपरीक्षयो- र्योऽर्थो लक्ष्यपरीक्षितव्यलक्षणः सोऽल्पः संकुचितो नाममात्रेणो द्देश्यतया यत्र (A, p. 599)

   Gūḍhārtha is natural, though one cannot escape the scientific explanation of Abhinava.

3. *Verse ii.*

   सूत्रतः सा तु विज्ञेया - सानुमन्तव्या N;
   कारिकार्थप्रयोगिनी P, K, C, M. सानुपठिता B.

"तत्सूत्रमपेक्ष्य या अनु पश्चात् पठिता श्लोकरूपा सापि कारिका" (A, p. 603)

A seems to be highly artificial.

4. तत्र रसानेव तावदादा– वभिधास्यामः P. K. – अभिव्याख्यास्यामः N, B, C, M.
"अभितः आदितः सूत्रग्रन्थ–परीक्षाक्रमेण विभज्याख्यास्यामः" (A, p. 619)

It is certain that A had influenced later scribes and editors.

5. न हि रसादृते कश्चिदप्यर्थः प्रवर्तते P. K. – कश्चिदर्थः N, B, C, M.
This new reading is more apt and appropriate. Moreover on another occasion, Abhinava quotes this sentence with the reading कश्चिदप्यर्थः (p.691). Though B follows A rather blindly, it does not accept this reading.

6. यथा गुडादिभिर्द्रव्यैर्व्यञ्जने– रोषधिभिश्च षड्रसा निर्वर्त्यन्ते P, K. – षाडवादयो रसाः N, B, C, M.
"षाडवादय इति लोकप्रसिद्धेभ्यः परस्परविविक्तेभ्यो मधुरतिक्ताम्ल–लवणकटुकषायेभ्यो मिश्रेभ्यश्च विलक्षणा षाडवशब्दवाच्याः" (A.p. 619)

7. एवं नानाभावोहिता अपि स्थायिनो भावा रसत्वमाप्नुवन्ति।P नानाभावोपहिता अपि K. नानाभावोपहता अपि-N,B, C, M.
This new reading भावोहिता (नानाभावेभ्यः विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिभ्यः ऊहिताः स्थायिभावः) is a very appropriate one which gives a clue to *anumāna* that is an essential means to *rasa* realisation even according to the

Abhivyaktivāda, in its early stage. The commentary on *upagata* by Abhinava seems to be rather laboured.

8. ऋषय ऊचुः – रस इति कः पदार्थः? आस्वाद्यत्वात्किम्? इति चेत्, अत्रोच्यते P.

   अत्राह–रस इति कः पदार्थः। उच्यते–आस्वाद्यत्वात्। कथमा–स्वाद्यते रसः।N,K,B,C,M,A

   Here, in the extant reading, the answer "*āsvādyatvāt*" puts forward some problems before us. A faces it with some difficulty: "अत्रोत्तरम्। आस्वाद्यत्वात्। प्रवृत्तिहेतोर्यतः प्रश्नः तेनोत्तरं हेतुविभक्त्या दत्तम्। तेन क्रिया प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तमस्येत्युक्तं भवति। ....अथ प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तं व्याक्षिपति–कथमास्वाद्यत इति" (pp. 679, 681).

   These problems will be solved if we accept the new reading.

9. भावाभिनयसंयुक्तान् P. ....संबद्धान् N,B,C,M,A.
   ....संयुक्ताः K.

   Abhinava says on this: "तैर्यैः सम्यग्बद्धा हृदयसंवादक्रमेण तन्मयीभावापन्नप्रमातृभूम्यभेदमुपसंप्राप्ता अचिन्त्या स्थायिनः ...." (p.683). This proves that the reading accepted by A might have influenced others. But it is to be noticed that in the *rasasūtra* itself the expression is *saṃyoga*. It is therefore appropriate to read *saṃyuktān* in this context also.

10. परस्परसम्बन्धदेषामभिनिर्वृतिरिति। Omits तत् कस्मात् N.
    तत् कस्मात्? दृश्यते..... P. तन्न । कस्मात् ? K,B,C,M,A.
    Here there are three views on the relationship between *bhāva* and *rasa*. All these are taken into consideration and accepted by Bharata in the following verses. So it is not proper to answer it in the negative as *tan na*. But it is only natural to seek for an explanation for these three apparently contradictory views as *tat kasmāt*? Therefore the new reading seems to be much more correct. Abhinava's explanation itself is some-

what contradictory: "इत्येवं पक्षत्रयोत्थानम्। इदं चासत्। एवंभूतस्य रसस्वरूपस्य निराकृतत्वात्" (A. p.687). Who rejected this kind of *rasa* realisation? Bharata or Abhinava himself? Moreover he himself concludes the section saying that all those three views are however acceptable with some variation in their meanings: "एवं त्रयोऽपि पक्षाः कथञ्चिदुपगता अभिप्रायत्रैविध्येनेति तात्पर्यम्" (A. p.692).

. *Verses 39,40* After करुणो रसः add:

शृङ्गाराद्धि भवेद्धास्यो रौद्रात्तु करुणो रसः।	वीराच्चैवाद्भुतोत्पत्तिर्बीभत्साच्च भयानकः।
वीरस्यापि च यत्कर्म सोऽद्भुतः परिकीर्तितः॥	शृङ्गारानुकृतिर्या च स हास्यस्तु प्रकीर्तितः॥
बीभत्सदर्शनं यच्च भवेत्स तु भयानकः॥ P	रौद्रस्यैव च यत्कर्म स ज्ञेयः करुणो रसः॥

K has also this reading.N, K, B, C, M, A

According to the existing reading there is repetition because the second verse is only an elaboration of the first. Commenting on these verses, Abhinava however explains eight kinds of *utpādyotpādakabhāva*, and thus he suggests that the second verse is not merely an explanation of the first. The relevant portion of his commentary may be cited here: " तेषां रसानामुत्पत्तौ हेतवः सूचकाश्चत्वारः। रसानामुत्पाद्योत्पादकप्रकारो यावान् संभवति स चतुर्भिश्च सूचित इति यावत्। (Then the first verse is enough!) तथा हि तदाभासत्वेन तदनुकाररूपतया हेतुत्वं शृङ्गारेण सूचितम्....(१)। यदीयफलानन्तरं द्वितीयरसोऽवश्यंभावी। तस्योदाहरणं रौद्रः(२)। .... यस्तु रसो रसानन्तरं फलत्वेनाभिसन्धाय प्रवर्तते तस्योदाहरणं वीरः(३)। .... यस्तु रसः तुल्यविभावत्वात् नियमेन रसान्तरं हि परमाक्षिपति तस्योदाहरणं बीभत्सः(४)। ...एवं तदाभासद्वारेण रसान्तराक्षेपकत्वे शृङ्गार उदाहरणम्(५)। ...परस्पराफलत्वेन रसान्तराक्षेपे

रौद्र उदाहरणम् (६)। ... समनन्तरफलत्वेन रसान्तराक्षेपे उदाहरणं वीरः(७)। ... सहभावेन रसान्तराक्षेपे बीभत्स उदाहरणम् (८)।" (pp. 694-701).

It can easily be seen that the last four varieties respectively are the same as those described as the first four. Abhinava's explanation is so unnatural that it cannot give separate examples for the last varieties. But he has got success in his attempt to insert his view on *rasābhāsa* in this context (vide pp.614-5). It may however be assumed that behind the addition of the above six lines A's influence can be seen.

12. *Description of Śṛṅgāra:*

....तदेवमेष गुर्वाचांरसिद्धो हृद्यो- ज्ज्वलवेषात्मकः शृङ्गारो रसः। P, N.	एवमेष आचारसिद्धो हृद्यो- ज्ज्वलवेषात्मकत्वाच्छृङ्गारो रसः B, C, K, M, A.

Śṛṅgāra is recognised not only by *ācāra* but it is sanctioned by *gurus* (preceptors like Brahman) also. So the expression *ācārasiddha* is not enough. Perhaps the original reading was sunk into oblivion when the A thereon gained popularity. A on the passage runs thus: "एवं शृङ्गारो रसः। स आचाराद् व्यवहारात् लोकेऽपि सिद्धः। कुतो होतोः? हृद्यादिवेषात्मकत्वात्।"(p.707)

13. *Vyabhicāribhāvas* of *Śṛṅgāra* in its two stages are not given in P.

They are given in others thus:

व्यभिचारिण(स्त्रासा)लस्यौग्र्यजुगुप्सावर्जम् (वर्ज्याः, वर्गाः)। विप्रलम्भ-कृतस्तु निर्वेदग्लानिशङ्कासूयाश्रमचिन्तौत्सुक्यनिद्रासुप्तस्वप्न-विष्वोक(विबोध)व्याध्युन्मादापस्मारजाड्यमरणादिभिरनुभावैरभिनेतव्यः। (N, K, C, M)

व्यभिचारिणश्चास्यालस्यौग्र्यजुगुप्सावर्जाः। विप्रलम्भकृतस्तु

निर्वेदग्लानिशङ्कासूयाश्रमचिन्तौत्सुक्यनिद्रास्वप्नविबोधव्याध्युन्मादापस्मार-जाड्यमरणादयः। (B, A)

The enumeration of these *vyabhicāribhāvas* is not necessary because it is implied in the context that all the thirtythree *vyabhicāribhāvas* are *vyabhicārins* of *śṛṅgāra*.Hence the subsequent question about the difference between *karuṇa* and *śṛṅgāra* and the answer pointing out the *vipralambha* aspect of *śṛṅgāra*. Only if we accept this new reading the suggestion made by Bharata of the peculiarity of *śṛṅgāra* that it is a combination of all *bhāvas* (*evam eṣa sarvabhāvasaṃyuktaḥ śṛṅgāro bhavati*,p.726) can be justified. This will, on the other hand, be utterly contradictory if we do not consider the passage giving the *vyabhicāribhāvas* of *śṛṅgāra* as spurious.

We may examine the passage enumerating the *vyabhicāribhāvas*. In some of the versions *trāsa* is also excluded from the *vyabhicārins*. *Vyabhicāribhāvas* of *vipralambha-śṛṅgāra* are changed into *anubhāvas* also. All this indicates only the fact that the absence of *vyabhicāribhāvas* of *śṛṅgāra* in old manuscripts created confusion among scribes or editors and hence the addition of this intricate and rather contradictory list of *bhāvas* to the original text. Now we may take the four *bhāvas* which are excluded in *śṛṅgāra*. *Trāsa* can be omitted since there is no consensus about it among those who accept the passage in question. How can one exclude *ālasya* from being *vyabhicārin* of *vipralambha-śṛṅgāra*? *Augrya* or *ugratā* is also allowed by Abhinava who says that *śṛṅgāra* with an aggressive turn can also be well appreciated "(*śṛṅgāras tu prasabhaṃ sevyamānaḥ sambhāvyata eva*, A,p.779)". Bharata himself suggests the same when he observes that each and every action of demons and other naughty personalities is horrible (*raudra* or *ugra: yac ca kiṃcit*

samārabhante svabhāvaceṣṭitaṃ vāgaṅgasatvādikaṃ tatsarvaṃ raudram evaiṣām, p.746).

According to some versions there is an additional sentence which gives strong support to our idea: "*śṛṅgāraś ca taiḥ prāyaśaḥ prasabhaṃ sevyate*, ibid). *Jugupsā* is a *sthāyibhāva* and there is no meaning in excluding it from being a *vyabhicārin* of a *rasa*. Perhaps this very point was the instigation for the advocates of *śāntarasa* who propose to make *nirveda*, one of the *vyabhicāribhāvas*, the *sthāyin* of *śānta*, because they were in want of a sanction from Bharata for attributing the *sthāyitva* to a *vyabhicāribhāva*. We can see citation of this sanction in the *Śāntarasaprakaraṇa* of A:"जुगुप्सां च व्यभिचारित्वेन शृङ्गारे निषेधन्मुनिः भावानां सर्वेषामेव स्थायित्वसञ्चारित्वचित्तजत्वानुभावत्वानि योग्यतोपनिपतितानि शब्दार्थबलाकृष्टान्यनुजानाति।" (p.764). Abhinava gives in the *śṛṅgāra* section itself this clue: "जुगुप्सा स्थायिन्यपीह निषिद्धा न्यायसिद्धं स्थायिनामपि व्यभिचारित्वमनुज्ञापयति।" (p.718).

14. *Vibhāvas of Hāsya:*

स विकृतवेषालङ्कारधाष्टर्च–	....विकृतवेष – M
लौल्यकलहासत्प्रलापव्यङ्गचदर्शन.....P,K	विकृतपरवेष ..
	लौल्यकुहकासत्प्रलाप..
	N, B, C, M, A

Hāsya can be brought out without the wearing of the costumes of another one. So '*para*' is not necessary. There are petty quarrels which cause humour as can be seen sometimes in the conversations between *Vidūṣaka* and *Nāyaka*. *Kalaha*, therefore, should not be deleted. However, the existing reading gained popularity because of the influence of A: "परस्य सम्बन्धी परः। एवंभूतो देवदत्तस्य वेषोऽयमलंकारो वा इत्युद्भट्टकभाण्डनृत्तादौ

दृश्यमानौ।.... कुहकं कक्षाग्रीवादिस्पर्शनं विस्मापनविधिप्रसिद्धं बालानाम्।" (p.731).

'Kuhaka', as Abhinava himself explains, brings out *vismaya* only; that too for children. How can it then be a *vibhāva* of *hāsya?*

15. *Anubhāvas of Hāsya:*

तस्यौष्ठदशननासाकपोलस्पन्दन.... रनुभावैरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः।P,K	Omit दशनN, B, C, M, A. "ओष्ठादेः स्पन्दनशब्देन सम्बन्धः।"(A.p. 732).

Throbing of lips is not so natural as that of a nose or temple as far as humour is concerned. To bite one's lips to conceal some moods appears appropriate to the context.

16. *Verse 61:*

एवमात्मसमुत्थं च (?त्थश्च)	इत्येष
तथा परसमुत्थितम् (? तः)।	स्तथा परसमुत्थश्च विज्ञेयः।
द्विविधस्त्रिप्रकृतिकः	द्विविधस्त्रिप्रकृतिगत–
षड्भेदोऽथ रसः स्मृतः॥	स्त्र्यवस्थभावो रसो हास्यः॥
P, K, M.	N, B, C, A.

Commenting on verse 52 Abhinava says: "तस्मात् संक्रमणा–भिप्रायेणैतत्। स्मितं हि यदुत्तमप्रकृतौ तत्संक्रान्तं हसितं सम्पद्यते। अत एव त्र्यवस्थो हास इति वक्ष्यते।" (A, p. 734). Behind this correction Abhinava has his own purpose to present his view on the *saṃkramaṇa* character of *hāsyarasa* (see A, pp.732,3).

17. *Vibhāvas of Raudra:*

क्रोधधर्षणाधिक्षेप....	क्रोधाकर्षण – M.
वाक्पारुष्यद्राह....	क्रोधाधर्षण...रुष्यभिद्रोह–
P, K	N, B, C, M, A.
	"आधर्षणं दारादिखिलीकरणं.... अभिद्रोहो जिघांसा.."(A,p. 742)

The P,K reading is simple and natural.

18. After

तत्सर्वं रौद्रमेवेति....P, K. Add "शृङ्गारश्च तैः प्रायशः प्रसभं सेव्यते।" N, B, C, M, A.

"सर्वमिति यदुक्तं तत्स्फुटयति-शृंगारश्चेति।शृंगार शब्देनात्र तद्विभावः। प्रमदोद्यानादिः । सोऽपि तैः प्रसभमिति क्रूराकारतया सेव्यते। यत्रौग्र्यस्य वर्जनमुक्तं किं पुनरन्यदिति चशब्दस्यार्थः।" (A, p.746).

This is only an explanation of the preceding statement as has been pointed out by Abhinava and is likely to have been added by later scribes.

19. *Vibhāvas of Bhayānaka*

सत्त्वदर्शनशिवोल्कात्रास.... P. शिवोलूकात्रास.... K,N,B,C,M,A.

How can the fear from an owl (*ulūka*) be a *vibhāva* of *bhayānaka*? This seems to be merely childish! The fear from a comet (*ulkā*) which is believed to be a bad omen is, on the other hand, very appropriate to be considered among the *vibhāvas* of the horrible sentiment. It is possible that scribes or editors might have mistaken the word *ulūka* for *ulkā*.

20. *Anubhāvas of Bhayānaka:*

प्रवेपितकरचरणनयनचलनपुलक.... P, K, M. ..नयनचपल.. N, B, C.

Here *capala* gives no proper sense whereas *calana* is very significant and more welcome.

21. *Vibhāvas of Bībhatsa:*

स चाहृद्याप्रियाचोक्षानिष्टश्रवण-दर्शनपरिकीर्तनादिभिः.... P, M. .. अप्रियावेक्षानिष्ट.. N,K .. अप्रियाचोष्यानिष्ट.... B, C,A.

A might have been the source of this well-publicized

correction. Abhinava differentiates all these expressions very dexterously as follows: "हृदयस्यापि किञ्चित्कस्यचिन्निसर्गतोऽप्रयतं लशुनमिव द्विजानाम्। यथा श्लेष्मोपहतस्य क्षीरम्। अप्रियं पित्तादिदोषात् । अचोष्यं स्वरूपेणादुष्टमपि तु मलाद्युपहतम्....।" (A. p.756). Any how *acokṣa* also gives the same meaning as that of *acoṣya;* but it might not have been clear to later scribes and hence corrections like *acokṣa*!

22. *Anubhāvas of Bībhatsa:*

तस्य सर्वांगहारं ... । हृल्लेखननिष्ठीवनोद्वेजनादिभिरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः - P.	हृल्लेखनिष्टीवनो -K ...सर्वांगसंहारमुखविकूणनो-ल्लेखलनिष्टीवलो... N, B, C, M, A

That the stress is given here on all kinds of actions on the face and eyes, is gone away by accepting the later readings. *Bībhatsa* has some similarity with *raudra*. In *raudra*, Bharata presents *anubhāvas* occurring in two levels (तस्य च ताडनपाटन...रुधिराकर्षणादीनि कर्माणि (कार्याणि-पा)। पुनश्च रक्तनयन...रनुभावैरभिनयः प्रयोक्तव्यः।" (pp.741-2).

Similar is the description of *anubhāvas* of *bībhatsa*.

23. *Vyabhicārins of Bībhatsa:*

व्यभिचारिभावश्चास्यापस्मारग्रह-चेष्टितवेगमोहव्याधिमरणादयः। P	व्यभिचारिभावाश्चास्याप-स्मारवेगमोह.... K भावाश्चास्य... पस्मारोद्वेगावेगमोह... B, C, M. ....पस्मारावेगमोह.. M.

It appears that scribes of later periods could not understand the meaning of the expression '*grahaceṣṭita*' which is something like '*bhūtāveśa*'.

24. *Verse 74:*

मुखनेत्रविकूणननयननासा– ...नेत्रविघूर्णननयन.. K, C.
प्रच्छादनावनमितास्यैः P मुखनेत्रविकूणनया नासा.. N.B.M.

'Nayana' in the original text might have been mistaken as *'naya'*.

25. *Anubhāvas of Adbhuta:*

...हाहाकारकरचरणाङ्गुलि– ..झांकारचेलाङ्गुलि... N
भ्रमणादिभिः.... P, K ..हाहाकार बाहुवदनचेलाङ्गुलिB, C, M.A.

What is meant by *celānguli*? *celāñcala*? That is very unnatural. *Karacaraṇāṅgulibhramaṇa* is a quite happy one that easily gives clear sense.

26. *Verse 75:*

यत्त्वतिशयार्थयुक्तं वाक्यं शिल्पं for शील–N, B, C,M, A.
शीलं च कर्म रूपं च। ..कर्मरूपं.. B, A.
एभिस्त्वर्थविशेषै रसोऽद्भुतो Second half: तत्सर्वमद्भुतरसे
नाम विज्ञेयः P, K विभावरूपं हि विज्ञेयम्
N, B, C, M, A.

Abhinava's commentary on this runs as follows, "...यद्वाक्यं यच्च शिल्पं कर्मरूपं कर्मात्मकं 'प्रशंसायां रूपप्'। सर्वं मित्येवंप्रकारमिति यावत्। (p.758). A's influence in the popularity of the existing reading need not be mentioned.

27. *Verse 76:*

स्पर्शग्रहोत्कहसनैः P, K स्पर्शग्रहोल्लुकुत्सनैः N.
स्पर्शग्रहोल्लुकसनैः B, C, M, A

Utkahasana is better. It means the laughter mixed with anxiety or wonder. Abhinava, however, explains: उल्लुकसनं– "गात्रस्योर्ध्वं साह्लादं धूननमुल्लुकसनम्" (p.759).

28. *Verse 77:*

शृङ्गारं विविधं विद्यात् ...वाङ्नेपथ्य.. N, K, B, C, M.
भ्रूनेपथ्यक्रियात्मकम्। P

The role of eye-brows in the erotic along with attractive dress and love-making actions is duly recognised in this appropriate reading.

29. *Divisions of Karuṇarasa:*

Verse 78: तथा शोककृतश्चैव N, K, C,M, A.
..तथायोगकृतश्चैव.. P. B.

..शोकशब्देन स्वजनादिनाशश्च एते त्रयो विभावाः" (A, p. 759).

Are not all the three kinds of *karuṇa* produced from *śoka*? Then what is particular about the third variety. *Śokakṛta*? Therefore '*ayogakṛta*' (caused by separation) is good.

II. READINGS WHICH ARE NOT MUCH IMPORTANT:

1. Verse 1 पञ्च प्रश्नान् ब्रवीहि नः P, K.
   प्रश्नान् पञ्चाभिधत्स्व नः G, B, C, M, A.
   प्रश्नमह्यं (?) वदस्व नः N.
2. Verse 2 रसत्वं केन वा तेषाम् P, K. ...वै...N, G, B, C, M, A.
3. Verse 3 निरुक्तं चाभिधत्स्व नः P, K.
   ..चैव तत्त्वतः N, G, B, C, A. ..च यथाक्रमम् M.
4. Verse 6 न शक्यमिह नाटचस्य P, K.
   ..शक्यमस्य N,G, B, C, M, A.
5. Verse 7 एकस्यापि न वै शक्यम् P, K, G, M.
   ...शक्यस्त्वन्तो B, C.
6. Verse 8 किं पुनः (पुनः किं) सर्वेषां P, K.
   ज्ञानानामर्थतत्त्वतःP, K, G.
   पुनरन्येषां N, G, B, C, M. ...तन्वतः B, A.
7. Verse 10 धर्मिवृत्तिप्रवृत्तयः P, K, M. धर्मी वृत्तिः... N, G, B.
8, Verse 10 कारिकार्थप्रयोगिनी P, K. प्रदर्शिनी... N, G, B, C, M.

48. Verse 58 अस्थानहसितं यत्र साम्रनेत्रं .. P, K.
... यत्तु साश्रुनेत्रम् N, G, B, C, M.
49. After verse 61 तस्य चाश्रुपातनपरिदेवनमुखशोषण.. P, K.
तस्य चाश्रुपात..N, G, B, C, M. तालुमुखशोषण.. B,M, A.
50. Verse 62 विप्रियवचनस्य संश्रयाद्वापि P, K.
संश्रवाद्वापि N, G, B, C, M, A.
51. Verse 63 सस्वनरुदितैःP, G, B, C, M. श्वसनविरुदितैः N, K.
52. Verse 63 मोहोद्गमैश्च P, K. मोहागमैश्च N, G, B, C, M.
53. After verse 63 रुधिरास्राकर्षणाद्यानिP, K. रुधिराकर्षणाद्यानिG,B,C, M.
54. Verse 63 भ्रुकुटीकरदन्तोष्ठपीडन P, K.
टीकरणद........ N, B, C. टीकरणावष्टम्भ... M, G.
55. Verse 63 गण्डचालन P. गण्डस्फुरण N, K, G, B, C, M.
56. Verse 63 व्यभिचारिणश्चास्य P, K.
भावाश्चास्य N, G, B, M, A.
व्यभिचारिभावाश्चास्य C.
57. Verse 63 राक्षसादीनाम् P, K. दानवादीनाम् N, G, B, C, M.
58. Verse 63 स्वभावत एव रौद्राः। बहुबाहवो बहुमुखाः P, K.
After these sentences add कस्मात् N, G, B, C, M.
59. Verse 63 वागङ्गादिकं वा P, K. Omit वा N, G, B, C, M.
60. Verse 63 रौद्रमेवेति P, K. रौद्रमेवैषां N, G, B, C, M.
61. Verse 63 संप्रहारकृतो P, K. संग्रामसंप्रहारकृतो N,G, B, C, M, A.
62. Verse 64 सत्त्वप्रहार P, K. युद्धप्रहार N, G, B, C, M, A.
63. Verse 65 नानाप्रहरणसंकुल P, K. प्रहरणमोक्षैः N, G, B,C, M.
64. After verse 66 अत्र अनुवंश्ये आर्ये P, K. अत्रार्ये रसविचारमुखे N, G, B, C, M, A.

III. INTERPOLATIONS

A few instances of interpolations have already been pointed out; but they are not recognised as such so far by well-known critics. Now we may take other instances of interpolations that are considered so by many.

1. Addition of *prakṛti* and *upacāra* to the well-known eleven *Nāṭyasaṅgrahas:*

रसा भावा ह्यभिनया धर्मिवृत्तिप्रवृत्तयः।
सिद्धिः स्वरास्तथातोद्यं गानं
(गानं रङ्गश्च संग्रहः is the original reading.)
उपचारास्तथा विप्रा मण्डपाश्चेति सर्वशः।
त्रयोदशविधो ह्येष ह्यादिष्टो नाटयसंग्रहः॥ M. pp. 195 - 6.

G and C also give the second verse in brackets (p.266, p.215). Consequently after the description of *gāna* there is a verse enumerating *prakṛti* and *upacāra*:

उत्तमाधममध्या च प्रकृतिस्त्रिविधा स्मृता।
बाह्याभ्यन्तरसंभूतमुपचारद्वयं भवेत्॥ M. pp. 199-200

G also gives this verse in brackets (p.272).

2. *Description of Śāntarasa:*

After the description of even the divisions of *rasas*, the whole *prakaraṇa* - beginning with *atha śānto nāma śamasthāyibhāvātmako mokṣapravartakaḥ is* seen in G (pp.333-336), B (pp. 762-3,777-8), C (pp.350-364) and M (adds in the beginning: *śāntam idānīṃ vyākhyāsyāmaḥ*, pp.222-223). Abhinava also is aware of this description of *santa* but he does not seem to accept it in total (vide: *Śantarasaprakaraṇa* in A, pp.762-80). According to Abhinava the description of *Śānta* itself occurs just after the statement,"स्थायिभावांश्च रसत्वमुपनेष्यामः। तथा च चिरन्तनपुस्तकेषु स्थायिभावान् रसत्वमुपनेष्यामः इत्यनन्तरं शान्तो नाम शमस्थायिभावात्मकः इत्यादि शान्तलक्षणं पठ्यते।"(For details on this problem, vide Dr.Raghavan, *The Number of Rasas*, Adyar Library Series, third revised edition, 1975; J.L. Masson and M.V. Patwardhan, *Śāntarasa and Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Aesthetics*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1969.)

In addition to this, the following expressions are also interpolated in connection with *śānta:*

a) बीभत्साद्भुतशान्ताश्च नव नाटयरसाः स्मृताः B.

बीभत्साद्भुतसंज्ञौ चेत्यष्टौ P, K, N, C, M.
तेन प्रथमं रसाः। ते च नव। शान्तापलापिनस्तु अष्टाविति तत्र पठन्ति। (A, p. 612)

b) एते नव रसाः प्रोक्ता द्रुहिणेन महात्मना B. त्यष्टौ P,K,N,C,M.

c) जुगुप्सा विस्मयश्चेति स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः। No edition gives *vismayasamaḥ*. But A indicates about this : "तत्र शान्तस्य स्थायी विस्मयशमाः इति शमः कैश्चित् पठितः" (A. p. 613).

d) स्वच्छपीतौ शमाद्भुतौ B. पीतश्चैवाद्भुतः स्मृतः P, K, N, C, M.
"स्वच्छपीतौ शमाद्भुताविति शान्तवादिनां पाठः" (A, p. 701).

e) बुद्धः शान्तेऽब्जजोऽद्भुते B. अद्भुतो ब्रह्मदैवतः P, K, N, C, M.
बुद्धः शान्तेऽब्जजोऽद्भुते इति शान्तवादिनः पठन्ति।" (A.p. 702).

f) एवमेते रसाज्ञेया नव लक्षणलक्षिताः B, C, A.
एवमेते रसा ज्ञेयास्त्वष्टौ लक्षणलक्षिताः P, N, K, M.

G and M add in the end of the description of *śānta:*
एवं नव रसा दृष्टा नाटचज्ञैर्लक्षणान्विताः

Now Abhinava says that there are only nine *rasas*. Just after the explanation of *utpādyotpādakaprakāra* of *rasas* he says:

"एतावन्त एव च रसा इत्युक्तं पूर्वम्।" (A. p. 701).

Here it means that there are only eight *rasas* because in that context only four *rasas* (*śṛṅgāra,raudra, vīra* and *bībhatsa*) are *utpādyas*. There Abhinava's suggestion is that there is no question of *śāntarasa*. That Abhinava trows utter confusion before the readers of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is undoubtedly visible in the problem of *śāntarasa*. Similar is the case with the text of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* also. From the foregoing analytical examination, an unprejudiced critic may be forced to conclude that it is A that had influenced many scribes of later periods and modern editors in determining correct readings and that at the same time on several occasions that influence had produced not so admirable results.

I.W. MABBETT

HINDUISM IN INDOCHINA BEFORE THE RISE OF ANGKOR

The countries of the eastern part of the mainland of South-East Asia (Vietnam, Cambodia, Loas and Thailand) have for many centuries, at least until very recent times, been staunchly Buddhist in their orientation, as has Burma in the west. In the earlier phases of Indian cultural influence in the area, however, Hinduism and Buddhism were parts of a single parcel of Indian tradition, and wherever that tradition spread, both faiths were to be found. To some extent though, for reasons that are not clear, Hinduism was generally stronger in the east than in the west. One must be careful with such generalizastions - for one thing, it must be understood that they apply only to the levels of religious life attested by inscriptions and archaeological remains, omitting any judgement about the religious life of ordinary people in the villages, who were historically mute; for another, it must be admitted that the religious culture of the early Mon communities remains rather shadowy, so that our notions about the ancient cultures of much of the area that later became Burma may be subject to considerable revision.

It does seem, though, that Hinduism - represented by general brahmanical culture and ritual, by the cult of

Viṣṇu and its variants, and perhaps most especially by the cult of Śiva - outstripped Buddhism in its appeal in the earliest states around the coast of Indochina where the trading route ran. Royal sponsorship of *liṅga* cults is conspicuous in Champa, for example, and in the Cambodian kingdoms. An examination of the religious statuary listed and described by J. Boisselier in *La Statuaire du Champa*, for example,shows that only a small minority of the images are Buddhist.[1] The inscriptions of the successive states in the area of Cambodia show a very pronounced bias towards Hinduism, and of course, during the heyday of the empire of Angkor, the great majority of the foundations endowed by rulers and court dignitaries benefited the votaries of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the whole pantheon of divinities associated with them. In the west it was different; Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, Sanskrit Buddhism and Pali, were predominantly attested from early times in the iconography and epigraphy of the 'Indianized' states, particularly that of the Pyu at Śrīkṣetra.

Why should this be? One line of enquiry might attempt to trace the fortunes of religious cults in their South-East Asian homes to their relative strength in the particular parts of India from which the cultural impulses came that influenced each community. Such an enquiry, however, requires perhaps rather more detailed knowledge of particular times and places than the evidence permits at present. It is not so long since scholars were debating the claims of northern and southern India to provide the chief impetus for 'Indianization'; both, it is clear, played a part at different times, but specific linkages are few and far between. Influence seem to have been cosmopolitan. Champa, in the southern part of what was to become Vietnam, was named after a northern state, but some of its cults have been seen as stemming from the far south. We are far from possessing the materials for a historical map of cultural influence.

Another approach would be to seek evidence of any *rapport* there may have been between Hinduism or Buddhism and each host society. Such an argument would be tenuous, but there is something to be said for it. The wealthy centres of relatively dense population, thriving on a combination of trade and increasingly productive agriculture, were, in the earlier period which we are here considering (2nd-8th centuries A.D.) mainly in the east. Such societies, it might be considered, produced relatively centralised regimes with flourishing royal courts; the richest endowments would go to support the cults of a socially oriented religion with its sacrifices and community rituals. True, Buddhism was to adapt itself to this role, as we see in its sponsorship by many kings; yet perhaps Buddhism's primary orientation was to coenobitism, and it throve best in the smaller outlying communities where population was originally sparser, and where people turned naturally to the values of a universal doctrine rather than to the cultural particularism of a metropolitan society. When flourishing metropolitan centres such as Pagan appeared in later centuries, Buddhism was well established and adapted itself increasingly to the role of state orthodoxy that Hinduism had long been playing in the east.

Such a thesis is too speculative to establish with any rigour, but it may be useful here to offer a survey of the forms taken by Hinduism in the Indochinese states. It will be useful to bear the thesis in mind, however; what we shall observe is that, in each state where Hinduism dominated, (a) it had an important role in *legitimizing* a metropolitan regime; (b) it provided the ideological framework for an elaborate network of well-endowed foundations which served as 'centres of employment and economic distribution and exchange'; and (c) it furnished a repertoire of 'public ritual' which served to endorse the solidarity of the community.

CHAMPA

Let us take Champa first.This state, or series of linked principalities, witnessed in particular the adoption of *liṅga* cults as part of the regalia of royal legitimacy.

Champa is first attested in the historical record by Chinese sources which refer to it as *Lin-i*; over the centuries, several other names were applied as successive capital cities became centres of royal ambition. By the late fourth century, the royal capital at Mi-Son possessed a royal cult of Siva in the form of Śiva Bhadreśvara, a name which combined the ruler, Bhadravarman, with the patron deity Śiva (*īśvara* being a name of Śiva).[2] Subsequently, a later ruler, Śambhuvarman, rededicated the cult with a Śiva *liṅga* combining his own name with his ancestor's and the god's, as Śambhubhadreśvara.[3]

It is clear that Siva was important to the Cham state. In 774 A.D. it is recorded that piratical and savage raiders from the south, possibly from Java, ravaged the Cham coast, burned the royal temple , and stole the precious *liṅga*. In 787 raiders came again from Java; they pillaged and desecrated the Bhadradhipatisvara temple west of the capital Virapura, near Phanrang.[4] These episodes attest the importance of saivite cult icons as symbols of national identity.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries royal *liṅga* cults were still actively patronised. King Jayasiṃhavarman III (who reigned in the last years of the thirteenth century and the first years of the fourteenth) established a *Śiva-liṅga* called Jayasiṃhavarmaliṅgeśvara at the shrine of Po Klaung Garai.[5] The central tower had a fine *liṅga* with a face sculpted on it (a *mukhaliṅga*): the neck and head emerged from the *liṅga*, and the face was moustached and bearded. Another *mukhaliṅga* has a carefully finished face but the *liṅga* is rough.[6]

This sort of cult has been seen as representing, in a more sophisticated Hindu form, a type of religion that persisted from prehistoric times, whereby the community chief, acting as priest, would become identical with the patron deity. In an important article published in 1932,[7] P. Mus argued that, for the Chams (and such others as adopted it), the imported Śiva cult was domesticated as an essentially local tradition entirely continuous with their ancient cults of rough stone icons which had social, cadastral and magic functions in defining the community and its land and assuring its prosperity.

It follows from this sort of analysis that the ruler, as descendant of the tribal chieftain whose religio-magic role Mus reconstructs from prehistoric times, is the vehicle of the local divinity whose sacred energy is made accessible to the community by his intervention. The essence of the *liṅga*, then, is at once the inner nature of the god, Śiva who stands as protector of the community, and at the same time the human being, the ruler acting as priest, through whom the sacred energy flows to make itself manifest.

Mus' analysis of the significance of the Śiva cults adopted in Indochina thus identifies them as essentially continuations in an Indian-supplied form of indigenous cults of particular communities. It has been contested by J. Filliozat, who draws attention to the results of research into the nature of the Śiva cult in southern India, at the source of the Indochinese importation.[8] He stresses that in India, Śiva was embodied in multiple *liṅga* cults possessed by particular communities, but was in all of these well understood to be the (locally incarnate) one and only universal Śiva.

But he (Mus) did not know that Śiva, the sovereign being, is the lord of each locality, worshipped and hymned as such to the exclusion of the *bhūta* of the same locality, for it is the miracle of divine grace to be fully materialized in each place and for each person, even while pervading

the whole universe. He is the opposite of a glorified god of the earth.[9]

Thus, he considers, lacking the indian perspective, Mus was wrong in seeing the Cham *liṅgas* as effectively multiple local gods, for the Chams were sophisticated adepts in Indian lore and recognized perfectly well the meaning of what they took from India. This much is no doubt the case, but it may perhaps be argued that Mus' underlying argument, which bore on the meaning of the cult within the mentality of local culture, still stands: the theology (so to speak) of Śiva could be learned and used as a part of the 'Great Tradition' of high culture, but what gave the *liṅga* cult its appeal and its sacred energy was precisely its continuity with ancient local cults of earth gods; that at least is the case that Mus would no doubt put, and the evidence for it is not so much the historical record of Champa as the numerous parallels throughout monsoon Asia attesting the vitality of chthonic cults.[10]

Thus Śiva, worshipped through the *liṅga* cult, was generally the chief patron of rulers and nobles in Indochina. A further illustration of the importance of this cult is furnished by the various historical references to Liṅgaparvata, known from Chinese references to Ling-ch'ieh po-pa-to as a mountain crowned by a temple on an island opposite Champa. It was said that each year the king would offer human sacrifice there.[11] This represents the special attention paid in the region to the sanctity of mountain sites, the cult of the local spirit who must be approached by the community chief by means of sacrifice, and the adoption for the purposes of essentially indigenous cult practices of the forms of Indian religion.

It is perhaps this adaptability of the *liṅga* to the needs of community cult life that gave Śiva his importance. Vaiṣṇavism, by contrast, was much less conspicuous in Champa than in some other early kingdoms of South-East Asia. One exception in the earlier period was the reign

of Vikrāntavarman, who came to the throne in 653 A.D. He was responsible for a great deal of religious construction, and some of his buildings evidence the presence of Vaiṣṇavism in Champa.[12]

Much later, a temporary restoration of Cham independent power took place under Che Bong-Nga late in the fourteenth century. A Cham ruler in 1421scored a victory over the now weakened Khmer kingdom and celebrated by the inscription of Viṣṇu of Bien-Hoa.[13]

In Champa, the dominant strain in Hindu-Buddhist culture that was sponsored at the courts of the kings was Hindu, chiefly the Śiva cult. But, as elsewhere, it is necessary to recognize the operation of the syncretic impulse which fused imported texts, myths and rituals with indigenous cults. The religious practices and beliefs that are characteristic of folk culture throughout monsoon Asia persisted, in the ways suggested by Mus, not simply alongside but in the very forms of Hindu and Buddhist cults that were part of the state religion. Local myths and deities were fused with those of Indian origin, so that, when Vietnamese encroachment was complete and the high culture of the Chams was lost, the vestiges of former Hindu cults were identified with cults of indigenous origin.

A trace of indigenous religious belief of another type can perhaps be recognized in dynastic myths. There is a widespread dynastic foundation myth according to which in variants found throughout South-East Asia a line of rulers is founded by the union of two mythical families; it is found in a Cham version, surfacing from the reign of Harivarman IV (acc.1074) who was said to be descended from the clan of the coconut palm (*nārikela*) on his father's side and that of the areca palm (*kramuk*a) on his mother's. This sort of clan mythology is paralleled in other areas, notably among the Vietnamese, and has been thought to represent a vestige of indigenous totemism.[14]

The persistence of local beliefs under the mantle of 'Great Tradition' cults, in the Hindu and Buddhist forms patronised by the courts, is also illustrated in Champa as elsewhere by the popularity of the *nāga* or serpent spirit. Although the term *nāga* is Indian, the type of serpent spirit which it designates is not of Aryan origin; it is, rather,part of the web of local cults that in prehistoric times lay across the whole of monsoon Asia, South-East Asia as well as India, and the occurrence of *nāga* spirits in the ancient kingdoms, attested in Champa for example by epigraphy,[15] conceals under an Indian name a sort of religious practice that owed nothing to India in its inspiration.

In the middle of the eigth century, the capital of the Chams moved south, first to Phanrang, then to Kauthara (Nha Trang), where the regime known to the Chinese as Huan Wang was established. The kings of this southern dynasty took posthumous names indicating Hindu affiliation: the first, Pṛthivīndravarman, was known after his death as Rudraloka (=*rudralokagata* 'gone to the world of Rudra')[16].

Nha Trang was a centre of the cult of Po Nagar, 'Lady of the Kingdom', from the eighth to the thirteenth century; in the tenth, the principal shrine was replaced by a Bhagavata image.[17] This happened in 918, when the ruler, Indravarman III, consecrated a golden statue of Bhagavati. However, it was stolen in around 950 by Khmers. In 965 Jaya Indravarman restored the sanctuary. The Bhagavati cult is addressed to the *śakti* (divine energy, personalised as a goddess) of Śiva, and the Cham Bhagavati cult of Po Nagar, with its associated art, has been seen as betraying links with south India (Mahabalipuram) and Ceylon.

In the last part of the ninth century and the early part of the tenth, Buddhism was actively patronised by rulers at Dong-Duong, and an important era of Buddhist culture came to vary the Hindu domination The Buddhist

rulers, like the Hindu (and indeed it is misleading to segregate them as if the two faiths were separate and exclusive allegiances), regularly patronised religious cults as part of the apparatus of legitimacy, a practice which continued after the Dong-Duong period.

In 988 Harivarman II was reigning at Vijayapura; in 991 he established the shrine of Īśānabhadreśvara (recalling the much earlier Bhadreśvara and Śambhubhadreśvara) at Mi-Son.[18] In the eleventh century, after a period in Indrapura, the Cham rulers were forced south to Vijayapura (Binh-Dinh province).

This was a consequence of the Vietnamese encroachment, which ultimately was to decree the doom of the Cham kingdom. In the tenth century the Vietnamese had grasped their independence from the Chinese empire and in the eleventh they imposed a series of defeates on the Chams to the south of them (who had long been in the habit of raiding northward into the border territory).

Increasingly, the Chams were to be driven southwards before the advance of the Vietnamese. In 1050 the Cham crown prince commemorated a victory over rebels in the south, in Pāṇḍuraṅga, by erecting a *liṅga* column on the hill of Po Klaung Garai, and the king restored the Po Nagar shrine at Nha Trang.[19]

In the 1150s, Jaya Harivarman I reconsolidated the kingdom and founded many royal religious establishments at Mi-Son and Po-Nagar.

The continued importance of the Linga cult as symbol of national identity is attested in the thirteenth century by the work of King Jaya Parameśvaravarman (II), who restored ruins and re-established *liṅgas* in the south. His brother, who became king, Jaya Indravarman (VI), was described as 'versed in the philosophy of the various schools'.[20]

Early in the fourteenth Century, the established brahmanical religion was supported by Jaya Siṃhavarman III, who built temples at Po Klaung Garai and Yang Prong.[21]

A little later, during the reign of a Vietnamese-installed ruler, Che A-nan, an early European account enters the historical record from the pen of the Franciscan Odoric of Pordenone, who described Champa briefly and intriguingly. He refers to what appears to be the Hindu custom of widow suicide: "When a man dies in this country, they bury his wife with him, for they say that she should live with him in the other life also."[22] However, it is not only the Hindu custom of becoming *satī* that offers itself as the origin of this phenomenon. Similar customs, or at least belief systems that maintain the ideal of such behaviour, have been observed among various tribal groups in Indochina in more recent times, for example among the Orang Glai.[23] Usually the theory is that the survivor owes it to her husband's family to make amends, and is liable to die if she does not do so.

The social customs associated with the Hindu caste system can therefore no more confidently be ascribed to the Chams than any other South-East Asian people who adopted Indian culture. But, like the Cambodians and others, the Chams may have borrowed some of the nomenclature of caste; among their ritual groups, the first in order of precedence was the *basheh* (perhaps equivalent to 'brahman'), members of which obtained the status by patrilineal descent.[24]

We should beware, though, of making too much of apparent evidence of caste institutions, for the caste system is highly integrated and not readily transplanted elsewhere piecemeal. In South-East Asia, Indian influence was in many ways considerable, but the ancient states such as Champa were not colonised, and their participation in the Hindu-Buddhist civilization was cultural, not social. One of the most important themes in the early history of the region is its autonomy, as the work of many scholars has emphasized.

We need to bear this theme in mind as we turn to look at the fortunes of Hinduism in Champa's neighbour states, the Khmer principalities known to history primarily by the names given them in Chinese sources on account of the absence of reliable indigenous information.

'FUNAN'

It is impossible to avoid altogether the terms and categories used by the Chinese in referring to the Indochinese states; but it is now generally recognized that these terms and categories are likely to be gravely misleading. One of the most misleading may be the name 'Funan', used to describe a kingdom or empire with its centre in Cambodia and southern Vietnam; it is likely that 'Funan' was neither as unified nor as discontinuous with the kingdoms that succeeded it as the Chinese sources represent. Hence the archaeological evidence of religious culture in Indochina and the references to the religious traditions of 'Fu-nan' and its neighbours in Chinese literature cannot confidently be combined. It has even been questioned whether Hinduism or Buddhism really put down roots in Indochina during the earlier centuries of 'Fu-nan.'[25]

In the earliest centuries, there is indeed evidence of Buddhism from the coastal areas of Indochina frequented by traders and pilgrims; but the Indochinese states which developed in Indochina came to be more influenced by brahmanism, at least at the level of court culture, and the Chinese accounts of the region, to whatever extent they are reliable sources, vouch for the presence of substantial numbers of brahmans at the courts of the various principalities in the area of 'Funan' around the coast of the Gulf of Siam.[26]

This brahmanical influence upon state formation is enshrined, among other things, in legitimation myths. A legend of obscure origin, but common to a number of kingdoms, is recorded by the account of the embassy of K'ang T'ai to 'Fu-nan' in the third century A.D. From it

we learn that the rulers of this kingdom traced their legitimacy to the founding of the state by a brahman, Kauṇḍinya (represented in Chinese as 'Hun-t'ien'). He travelled by sea to the shores of the country and was attacked by the queen's forces; he shot her with a magic bow and receiving her submission, married her and ruled over the kingdom. This myth is significant not as a historical record but as evidence of the type of religous context: we may interpret the brahman, bringer of Hinduism, as standing for the unifying culture derived from India which helped to give expression to national identity, and the queen as standing for the local cults of water and snake spirits (in some versions of the myth, the queen is a *nāgī*, a snake spirit inhabiting the subterranean waters). At all events it proved potent enough to survive in Indochina; later inscriptions in Champa and Cambodia refer to the union of Soma with Kauṇḍinya as the origin of a royal race.[27]

V. Goloubew suggested a Scythian origin for the myth, mediate through the Pallavas in India.[28] Coedes treats it as a local form of a dynastic origin myth found in several places including the Indian Pallava kingdom.[29] E.Poree-Maspero concluded from a study of the Chinese texts that in fact Kauṇḍinya represented not brahmanism but local ancestral cults and originated from central Asia rather than India: some features of the legend (the use of a bow; the style of garment bestowed by Kauṇḍinya upon the queen) suggested central Asia, not India; and the processes of cultural contact at the root of the legend involved a transmission from central Asia through southern China.[30] This in turn raises the problem of connections between Persia and central Asia, India, and Indochina. There is some evidence of indirect cultural influence from as far west as Persia; it consists of Sūrya images wearing tunics of distinctly central Asian rather than Indian style, of which a few were found in Cochinchina, and the epigraphical references to Śākabrāhmaṇa, which Bhattacharya considered could represent Viṣṇu in the form of the sun god Sūrya.[31]

The persian solar cult is generally considered to have had a strong influence on Buddhism during the crystallization of Mahāyāna[32] and the sun god converged particularly with the myth and iconography of Viṣṇu. Representations of apparently Scythian figures are to be seen in India, at Ajanta and Amarāvatī, and the Scythian presence in 'Funan' may have been significant. (Malleret supposed that the so-called 'second Kauṇḍinya' coming as ruler to 'Funan' may have marked the revival of Indian tradition after a Scythian interlude, but this sort of conjecture rests upon fragile evidence.[33]) A. Christie points to the Sūrya cult and the use of the Śaka era as evidences of the west Indian and Śaka influence.[34]

However that may be, in the course of the sixth century the state known to the Chinese as 'Funan' disappeared and was replaced by a successor, 'Chenla', where Hinduism was actively promoted by many rulers.

'CHENLA'

In dealing with the Indochinese states, it is important to remember that the Chinese knew of them only indirectly and were prone to simplify the versions of their political history that passed into the official record. Thus, it is generally agreed among scholars that the terms 'Funan' and 'Chenla' probably give a misleading picture of the politics of the region, implying that there was at any time a single unified state (on the model of the Chinese concept of a kingdom, *kuo*). It appears likely that, on the contrary, there were various competing principalities, each dominating one main centre of population, and the lines of Khmer political history are only now beginning to be disentangled.

It is clear though that, in most of the principalities that made up 'Chenla', which lasted through the seventh and most of the eighth centuries, brahmanism, with its cults of Śiva and Viṣṇu, was strong. Various sects and cults are attested: the Pāśupatas in the seventh century,

and the (Vaiṣṇavite) Pāñcarātras, and also the combined Śiva-Viṣṇu cult of Harihara[35].

Let us take the Śaivite sects first. Some scholars have stressed the role of Śiva as a god of grace for his devotees, a mystical object of devotion transcending the barriers of caste and race, well fitted to become the patron of charismatic Indochinese leaders; [36] Wolters argues that the epigraphy of the seventh century reveals an association of the devotional Śiva cult, not with a belief in the efficacy of brahmanical rituals, but with a view of the ruler as the vehicle of a special personal spiritual quality, a sort of prowess or *māna* which has analogues with Chinese and montagnard tribal religion rather than with the rituals of Hinduism. Thus, though the Khmers saw themselves as an integral part of the Indian cultural ecumen, they maintained an essentially indigenous politico-religious culture. It can be noted here that, just as Filliozat's critique of Mus' interpretation of the *liṅga* cult may be right theologically speaking but fail to meet Mus' real point about the meaning of the cult on the ground, so to speak, even so the Khmer Śiva cult can be seen in the same way: it embodied a sophisticated form of Indian religion that was fully understood, but also gave form to local beliefs about the spiritual energies inherent in great men.

An inscription of 624 offers a fragment of Śaivite theology: Śiva is a personal god of grace and is equivalent to the absolute Brahman.[37] This sort of monistic theism characterises the devotional movements that came to be associated with Śiva. K. Bhattacharya interprets the inscription as a significant illustration of the doctrine that represented Śiva both as a personal god and as the impersonal Brahman or absolute.[38] K.A.N.Sastri interprets it as representing the Pāśupata doctrine of union with God, noting particularly its reference to Yoga;[39] but his identification is contested by K. Bhattacharya.[40]

An inscription from Sambor dated 627 A.D. refers to a Pāśupata brahman who is said to be expert in Śabda (grammar), Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya, Sāṃkhya and Buddhism.[41]

The worship of Siva is evidenced in the *liṅga* cult. King Mahendravarman established *liṅgas*, each entitled *girīśa* (lord of the mountain) on hilltops to commemorate victories. *Liṅgas* have Indian names, one *puṣkarekṣa*, represents a foundation by King Puṣkara in 716 at Prah Theat and thus illustrates the combination of the name of the patron god with that of the founder that is found also in Champa and, in the case of numerous statues, in Angkor.[42] Also related to Śiva are the cults of Umā in her demon-slaying form (Mahiṣāsuramardinī)[43] and the elephant god Gaṇeśa, both popular in Cambodia - indeed, K. Bhattacharya argues that there was a regular cult of Gaṇeśa.[44]

Also related to Śiva worship are the cults, attested in Cambodia, of Kumāra, Skanda, Nandin (Śiva's bull mount), and Durgā.[45] From 713 A.D. dates an inscription of a queen Jayadevī, recording donations to a śaivite shrine founded by a princess who was married to a brahman from India.[46] Important for the history of religious ideas of kingship is an inscription of Jayavarman I which refers to the king as a part (*aṃśā*) of Śiva, an early embodiment of the conception of divine kingship (if this is how it should be interpreted) and a close analogy with the claim made by the Angkorian king Jayavarman IV.[47]

The cult of Viṣṇu was well established in its own right, as evidenced by a reference to the endowment of a Viṣṇu image called Cakratīrthasvāmin.[48] An inscription of Jayavarman I refers to a Pāñcarātra priest (one of the earliest allusions to this sect).[49] Verse 3 of this inscription names the god of the foundation as Trailokyasāra; verse 4 refers to the sacrificial priest as versed in the five moments (*pañcakāla*), the five elements (*pañcabhautika*), and as *pāñcarātrārcācuñcuna*.'[50] K. Bhattacharya points to the

derivation of the Pāñcarātras in Cambodia from the transformation of the Bhāgavatas or Sāttvatas into a Vaiṣṇavite sect in India during the Gupta period.[51]

Other names or incarnations of Viṣṇu are found in the epigraphy, notably the title Trailokyasāra, and his consort Lakṣmī, goddess of fortune.[52] Possibly one of the earliest statue portraits is that called Hari Viśvareśa, a statue of Viṣṇu in the form of Hari Viśvarūpa, thought to be perhaps an image of the donor.[53] Bhattacharya suggests that the various references to the cult of Śakabrāhmaṇa may represent Viṣṇu in the form of the sun god Sūrya.[54] A seventh-century inscription refers to the institution by Somaśarman of daily readings from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *(Mahā-)bhārata*, and the *purāṇa* for the benefit of the cult of the god Śrī Tribhuvaneśvara.[55]

Now, such evidences as these all go to show the close association in Indochina between the institutions of Hinduism and the legitimacy and authority of the ruler. It is just this association, indeed, which moved L. Dumont, in *Homo Hierarchicus*, to assert that there was an important difference between the roles of religion in India and in Indochina - in the former, Hinduism kept its independence from political power and was able to determine the concepts and categories which controlled social behaviour, whereas in the latter the position of the ruler was paramount and religious institutions were bound up with political ones.[56] This dichotomy can be questioned; the contrast between India and Indochina may not be as sharp as Dumont presents it, for certainly the Khmer and Cham rulers needed the brahmans, just as the brahmans needed them.

However, there is no space here to pursue this question further. What can be clearly enough observed on the evidence of Hindu influence reviewed above is that, whatever the relation between religion and politics in general, Hinduism provided the vocabulary in which the people of the Indochinese kingdoms expressed their view

of the forces that controlled their fortunes and gave success or failure to the enterprises of their rulers. The cults of the great gods gave orthodoxy; proper observance of their demands gave legitimacy; and the public worship of them confirmed the solidarity of the communities that were their devotees.

ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEO *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*

ISC A. Bargaigne, 'Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Notices et Extraits des Manuscripts de la Bibliothèque du Roi et autres Bibliothèques,* vol.XXVII No.1 (Paris 1885), pp.1-180

JA *Journal Asiatique*

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2. P. Mus, *India Seen from the East: Indian and Indigenous Cults in Champa*, Clayton (Monash University, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies), 1975, pp.50f. Originally published as 'Cultes indiens et indigènes au Champa', BEFEO. vol XXXII (1932), pp.367-410.
3. Ibid.:J. Leuba, *Un Royaume Disparu: les Chams et leur Art*, Paris/Bruxelles 1923, p.41.
4. G. Maspéro, *Le Royaume de Champa*, Paris/Bruxelles 1928, pp.99f.
5. Ibid. p.191
6. J.Leuba p.49; H. Parmentier, *Inventraire Descriptif des Monuments Cams de l'Annam*, 4 vols, Paris 1909-1918, vol.I, p.558, fig.128.

7. P.Mus, *India Seen from the East*, op.cit.
8. J. Filliozat, 'Sur le Çivaïsme et le Bouddhisme du Cambodge: à propos de deux livres récents', BEFEO. vol. LXX (1981), pp.59-99.
9. Ibid. p.62. 'Mais il [Mus] n'a pas su que Çiva, Etre souverain, est le seigneur de chaque lieu, adoré et chanté comme tel a l'exclusion des *bhūta* du même lieu, car c'est le miracle de la grace divine d'être descendue plénière en chaque endroit et pour chacun tout en embrassant l'univers...II est l'invers d'un dieu du sol magnifié.
10. The same applies to the royal *linga* cult of Angkor, upon which Filliozat's argument chiefly bears.
11. Ma Tuan-lin, *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la China*.Tr.with commentary by the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys. Vol.2, *Méridionaux*, Geneva 1883, p.483.
12. Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa*, p.91.
13. A Cabaton, 'L'inscription chame de Bien-hoa,' BEFEO. vol.IV (1904), p.687.
14. R.A.Stein, 'Le Lin-i: sa localisation, sa contribution à la formation du Champa, et ses liens avec la Chine,' *Han-hiue:Bulletin du Centre d'Etudes Sinologiques de Pékin*, vol.II fasc.1-3, pp.1-335 at pp.258f.
15. Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa*, p.39; G.Coedès, 'La plus ancienne inscription en pāli du Cambodge', BEFEO. vol.XXXVI (1936), p.15.
16. A. Bergaigne, ISC. pp.181-292 at p.224.
17. J. Leuba, *Un Royaume Disparu*, p.49.
18. At least, according to G. Maspero, op.cit. p.126 n.3; the reading of the name Harivarman is doubtful; cf. L.Finot, 'Inscriptions de Quang-nam', BEFEO. vol.IV (1904),p.113.

19. L. Finot, 'Panduranga', BEFEO. vol.III (1903), p.646; Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa*, p.139.
20. L. Finot, 'Notes d'épigraphie XI: Les inscriptions de Mi-sơn', BEFEO. vol.IV (1904), pp.897-977 at p.954.
21. H. Parmentier, *Inventaire Descriptif des Monuments Cams de l'Annam*, 4 vols, Paris 1909-1918, vol.1, pp.81-95.
22. Odoric de Pordenone, *Les Voyages en Asie au XIV-Siècle du Bienheureux Frère Odoric de Pordenone*, ed.H. Cordier, Paris 1891, p.188: "Quant aucuns homs meurt en ce pays on ensevelist sa femme avec lui, car ilz dient que drois est que elle demeure avec lui en l'autre siècle." (Eng.Trans.by H. Yule and H. Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London 1915); Cf.G.Coèdes, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, tr.Susan Cowing, Canberra 1968, pp.230,359 n.85.
23. Note by Cordier in Pordenone, *Les Voyages*, pp.198-200; he refers also to an observation by Ramusio that upon the death of a king in Cambodia the men voluntarily go to their deaths as well.
24. Aymonier, 'Les Tchames et leurs religions,' pp.222-230.
25. The earliest Chinese references to religious images in 'Fu-nan' are fifth-century; a Viṣṇu image found there has been dismissed as a copy of an original from Jaiya. See A. Christie, 'The provenance and chronology of the early Indian cultural influence in South-East Asia', in H.B. Sarkar, ed., *R.C. Majumdar Felicitation Volume*, Calcutta 1970, pp.1-14; idem, 'Lin-i, Fu-nan,Java', in R.B.Smith and W. Watson, eds, *Early South East Asia. Essays in Archaeology, History and Historical Geography*, New York 1979, pp.281-287.
26. On these principalities, see particularly P. Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*', Kuala Lumpur 1966.
27. Coèdes, 'L'inscription de Baksei Chamkrong', JA. May-

June,pp.467-510; Ma Tuan-lin, *Ethnographie*, pp.436-458.

28. V. Goloubew, 'Mélanges sur le Cambodge ancien, I: Les Légendes de la Nāgī et de l'apsaras; ,BEFEO. vol XXV (1924), pp.501-510.
29. See G. Coedès, *Indianized States*, p.276 nn.10-15 for references.
30. E Porée-Maspero, *Etude sur les Rites Agraires des Cambodgiens* , vol.III, Paris 1969, pp.789-794.
31. K. Bhattacharya, *Les Religions Brahmaniques dans l'Ancien Cambodge*, Paris 1961, p.130.
32. L.de la Vallée Poussin, *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde*, Paris 1935, pp.348-353.
33. L. Malleret, 'Une nouvelle statue préangkorienne de Sūrya dans le Bas-Mekong' in Ba Shin, J. Boisselier and A.B. Griswold, eds, *Essays Offered to G.H. Luce*, Ascona 1966, vol. II p.109-120.
34. A. Christie, 'Provenance and Chronology', pp.11f.
35. G. Coedès,*Les Inscriptions du Cambodge*, 8 vols, Hanoi/ Paris 1937-1966, vol.I p.5; vol.II p.193.
36. Wolters, 'Khmer "Hinduism" in the seventh century', in Smith and Watson, op.cit., pp.427-442: Śiva is apostrophised as Creator, Omniscient, First of all the Ascetics; various inscriptional references show an emphasis on devotion and asceticism in the Śiva cult.
37. K. Bhattacharya, 'La secte des Pāśupata dans l'ancien Cambodge', *Journal Asiatique*, No.243 (1955), pp.479-90,at p.481.
38. Ibid.
39. K.A. Nilakanta Sastry, *Indian Influences in the Far East*, Bombay 1949, p.41.

40. K. Bhattacharya, 'La secte des Pāśupata' at p. 481.
41. Ibid. pp. 479f.
42. P. Dupont, *La Statuaire Préangkorienne*, Ascona 1955, p.210.
43. See K. Bhattacharya, *Les Religions Brahmaniques dans l'ancien Cambodge*, Paris 1961, pp.91f and pl.VIII.
44. Bhattacharya, *Les Religions Brahmaniques*, pp.131f.
45. Dupont, *La Statuaire Préangkorienne*, p.211.
46. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol.IV, p.54; 'Chronique', *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, vol.39, p.341.
47. On the *devarāja* cult, see H. Kulke, 'Der Devarāja Kult', *Saeculum*, vol XXV, part 1 (1974), pp.24-55 (translated by I.W. Mabbett as *The Devarāja Cult*, Ithaca, Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program Data Paper 108) 1978; C. Jacques, 'The Kamraten Jagat in Ancient Cambodia', in Noboru Karashima, ed, *Indus Valley to Mekong Delta Explorations*, Madras 1985, pp.269-286.
48. K. Bhattacharya, *Les Religions Brahmaniques*, p.25.
49. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol.II, p. 193, Stèle de Baset.
50. The five moments are 'the rules of the five timely observances of the day, *abhigamana*, etc'. - i.e. daily brahmanical rituals; the five elements belong to the doctrine of cosmological evolution from the Ego-principle (*ahaṃkāra*) through effulgence (*taijasa*) to the elements of the phenomenal universe - space, wind, fire, water and earth: F.O.Schröder, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra*, pp. 76, 112.
51. K. Bhattacharya, 'The Pāñcarātra Sect', p.111.
52. Dupont, "La Statuaire Préangkorienne", p.211.

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55. A. Bergaigne, ISC, Inscription No.4, Veal Kantal, at pp.28-31.
56. L. Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus*, Paris 1967; Eng. trans. Chicago 1970, p.215.

KALPANA UPRETI

AVADĀNA-ŚATAKA ON THE TRADE AND COMMERCE IN ANCIENT INDIA

All the scholars who have worked on the evolving pattern of ancient Indian economy are unanimous that the centuries immediately preceeding and succeeding the Christian era, to which the *Avadāna-śataka*[1] belongs witnessed an unprecedented growth of trade and commerce. D.D. Kosambi while dealing with the post-Mauryan and pre-Gupta phase of Indian society devotes one full section to commodity producers and trade[2]. *The Early Indian Economics* of G.L. Adhya deals exclusively with the economic pattern of this period with special emphasis on trade and commerce. R.S. Sharma, while dealing with different stages in ancient Indian economy succinctly remarks that from the economic point of view the most important development of the period was the thriving trade between the southern India and the Roman empire.[3] Some of the specific characteristics of the Sātavāhana rule have been explained by him in the light of the enormous trade with the mediterranean region and the influx of Roman coins coupled with the rise of urban settlements in the Deccan on a large scale.[4] Romila Thapar calls the phase from 200 B.C. to 300 A.D. as the rise of the merchantile community on the assumption that beneath

apparent political confusion marked by rise and decline of many dynasties, there was one factor which gave continuity and consistency to this period, and that was trade.[5]

It is rather strange, if not outrightly astonishing, that these scholars have utilised the evidence from almost all the available sources, archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic, indigenous literature and the classical account except the *Avadānas*. Even the data provided by the *Jātakas* have been preferred to those of the *Avadānas*. It is really difficult to understand why the *Avadānas* have been so undermined as the sources of ancient Indian trade and commerce between circa 200 B.C. and 200 A.D. We are firmly of the opinion that the data provided by the *Avadānas* in this respect is much more detailed and reliable. The following tentative reconstruction of ancient Indian trade and commerce during a few centuries preceding and following the Christian era on the basis of the *Avadāna-śataka* will substantiate our contention to a large extent.

The traders and merchants have been variously called as *vaṇija*,[6] *sārthavāha*,[7] and *śreṣṭhi*.[8] The references to the *vaṇijas* can be traced all over the texts and they indicate that the term was used in a generic sense covering all the categories of traders. The *sārthavāhas* seem to be large scale traders who were usually engaged in maritime trade. A stock expression in the text represents them as leaders of the *vaṇijas* (*sārthavāha iva vaṇiggaṇa parivṛtaḥ*).[9] The most outstanding members of the *sārthavāha* community were known as *mahāsārthavāhas*.[10] Another stock expression in the text associates the *śreṣṭhis* with the urban people (*śreṣṭhi iva pauragaṇa-parivṛtaḥ*).[11] As has been pointed out by many scholars, the *śreṣṭhis* emerged as bankers and traders on the economic scene of Inida in sixth century B.C. and maintained a distinct position for centuries to come. At the turning of the Christian era they seem to have achieved an eminent position in the urban society. Besides these

big traders and merchants, there were also petty traders and shopkeepers who were called *aukkarikas*[12] and *āpaṇikas*[13] respectively.

The general terms used for commodities are *paṇya*[14] and *bhāṇḍa*.[15] The smaller traders and shopkeepers dealt in articles like *perfumes*,[16] *jewellary*[17] and other necessary things of urban life. The internal trade by land route, was carried out by such modes of transportation as bullock-carts, coolies, camels, bullocks and asses.[18] These traders usually travelled in caravans. However the number five-hundred mentioned so often is merely conventional as we see in the early Pāli texts also. The riverine routes were plied by boats (*nau*).[19] The land routes were infested by robbers (*tasmiṃś ca pradeśe mahat taskarabhayam*).[20] Besides, the danger of missing the track and being stranded in deep forests and deserts posed a real problem:

> *kāntāramārgapratipannāni te mārgāt paribhraṣṭa vālukā sthalam anuprāptaḥ te .... madhyāhnasamaye tīkṣṇakararasmi-santāpitajalodhṛta iva matsyaḥ .... vedanāṃ vedayamānaḥ*.[21]

Consequently the traders might have preferred riverine routes to the land routes. The river Ganges, with its smooth surface and long course touching many parts of northern India, might have provided a safer and cheaper highway of communication (*gaṅgāyām....*).[22] However, the riverine routes were not available to reach all the parts of the country and therefore the traders had no option but to take to land routes. Our text refers to many routes, e.g. Dakṣiṇā-patha to Kośala, [23] Dakṣiṇāpatha to Rājagṛha,[24] Śrāvastī to Surpāraka[25] and Gāndhāra to Pāṭaliputra.[26] The former three routes started in middle Gangetic valley and passed through the Deccan which witnessed an unprecedented growth of urbanisation and trade during this period and finally terminated on the western sea-coast. The last one was the famous Uttara-patha which started

from the middle Gangetic Valley and passed through many important towns and trade marts and finally terminated at Taxila. From sea-ports like Surpāraka and Bhārukaccha on the western coast and Taxila in the north-west, the trade was either taken over by foreign intermediaries or carried forward to the foreign lands by Indian traders themselves.[27] During their long journies, the traders had to pass through many villages (*grāma*), towns (*nagara*), trade centres (*nigama*), countries (*jana-pada*), kingdom (*rāṣṭra*), capital cities (*rājadhāni*) and cities (*paṭṭaṇa*).[28] At these places, they might be transacting their business with the local people. Some part of these transactions was carried by barter and some part by monetary dealings, although the commodities so exchanged or sold have not been mentioned as such.

The *Avadāna-śataka* mentions many coins, namely *kārṣāpaṇa*,[29] *purāṇa*,[30] *niṣka*,[31] *hiraṇya-suvarṇa*[32] and *dīnāra*.[33] *Kārṣapaṇa*, for the first time finds place in early Pāli literature[34] and in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini.[35] It was made of gold, silver and copper and the standard of weight was different in different metals. According to Monier Williams the weight of gold *kārṣāpaṇa* was 16 *māṣas*, of silver 16 *paṇas* and of copper 80 *rattikas*.[36] The *purāṇa* was a silver coin weighing 16 *paṇas*,[37] the *niṣka* has been mentioned in the earliest literary compositions of the Aryans. Some scholars are of the opinion that in the *Ṛgveda*, the term has been used in the sense of gold coins. But others have refuted this opinion and put forward on alternative view that the term has been used in the sense of small pieces of gold used for making neckleces.[38] However, in course of time *niṣka* became transformed into a gold coin of definite weight. *Hiraṇya-suvarṇa* also seems to be a coin of gold. *Dīnāra* is considered to be a *kuṣāṇa* adaptation of the contemporary Roman Golden coin Dinarius. This coin was introduced by Wema-Kadphesis, the son and successor of the founder of the dynasty of Kujula Kadphasis. The evidence from literary sources is so confusing and

conflicting that it is very difficult to draw an accurate chart of the standard weight and value of coins in different metals. In our text the *kārṣāpaṇa* is mentioned few times. In one instance in which a covetous sea-merchant tries to riggle out of his earlier vow to liberally spend for the worship of the Lord Buddha by offering incense for a pittance of two *kārṣāpaṇas*,[39] the term is definitely used for a coin of base metal. In another instance, the term however, seems to be used in the sense of 'money' in general.[40] *Hiraṇya* and *suvarṇa* are mentioned very often and are definitely gold coins of very high value which are used for large scale transactions only. The circulation of the gold, silver, copper, bronze, potin and even lead coins is attested by archaeological evidence. The gold, copper and bronze coins of the Kuṣāṇa rulers have been found in different parts of northern India.[41] The silver coinage of Nahapana which were later restricted by the Sātavāhana ruler Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi have been discovered at Jogalthambi in Maharashtra. He also issued copper coins.[42] The Kardamaka-sakas issued coins both in precious and base metals. The Sātavāhanas issued silver, copper, bronze, lead and potin coins.· However they did not issue any gold coinage. It has been suggested by many scholars that the gold coins imported from Rome and found extensively at variours sites in the Deccan were used for big transactions. This extensive numismatic evidence covering the period from circa first century B.C. to first century A.D., to which our text also belongs, witnessed an unprecedented money economy, not only in large scale transaction but also in the life of the common people.

The text refers to the towns and cities like Kauravya, Nagara,[43] Vārāṇasī-mahānagarī.[44] Pāṭaliputra-nagara,[45] Kajaṅgala-nagara,[46] Rājagṛha,[47] Śrāvastī,[48] Saupāraka,[49] Saṅkāsya,[50] and Kapilavastu.[51] Kaurava-nagara as the name suggests, might have been situated in the region of Kuru which comprised modern Haryana, Delhi and the Upper Gangetic Doab.[52] This town has not at all been mentioned

in the Pāli canonical literature. Vārāṇasī, Srāvastī, Sankāsya and Kapilavastu are in present day Uttara Pradesh. Pāṭaliputra, Rājagṛha and Kajaṅgala are in modern Bihar. Saupāraka is in modern Thana district of Bombay and one of the most important sea-ports on the western coast of the Indian subcontinent. Among the geographical zones and the states, our text mentions Dakṣiṇā-patha (Deccan)[53] and Dakṣiṇa-giri[54] (which has been identified as Deccan(?) by Speyer,[55] Madhya-deśa (the middle Gangetic valley), Gāndhāra (certain parts of north-western India), Pāñcāla (the districts of Barelly, Badaun and Farrukabad in Uttara-pradesh), Videha (Tirhut in Bihar), Kosala (present day Oudh), Kāśī (the region round about Vārāṇasī), Malla (Gorakhpur district of Uttara Pradesh) and Magadha. These names of the cities, geographical regions and states give us an idea of the scope of functioning of Indian traders within the subcontinent. However one should always keep in mind that many of the states mentioned in the text actually refer to the time of the Buddha and by the time our text was written, they ceased to exist. The same can be said about certain cities and the towns mentioned in the text. Among the rivers, Ajirāvatī, Cārikā, Vāḷukā and Gaṅgā have been mentioned. The first was near Śrāvastī and the remaining three near Vāraṇāsī. In the *Nāvikāvadāna*,[56] we are told that on the bank of the river Ajirāvatī, there was a village of boatmen, the residents of which were engaged in ferry services. The river Ganges was used as a highway of communication and trade by big merchants.[57]

The hoarding of money was resorted to by some rich traders and merchants. However, such a practice does not seem to be wide spread and in general the traders and merchants preferred to invest their money with a view to further augment their wealth (*vaṇig iva labdhalābhaḥ*,[58] *yāvad ahaṃ... dhanasañcayaṃ karomi*[59]). It is not without significance that a rich *gṛhapati* of Rājagṛha mentioned in the *Kṛṣṇasarpāvadāna* who indulges in hoarding

wealth has been depicted as a contemptible, greedy and miserly being who lived like a vulture in his lifetime and became a poisonous snake after his death.[60]

Although the period witnessed an alround growth in economy, the developments which took place in the realm of maritime trade were truly amazing. The developments in agriculture, arts and crafts and internal trade made the economy quite viable. As a result of this, the volume of foreign trade increased substantially. This foreign trade was largely carried out by maritime routes as is amply proved by the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, the Geography of Ptolemy, the Natural History of Plinny, the archaeological findings in different parts of India and the *Avadāna* and *Jātaka* literature. This maritime trade was carried with both the western world and the countries of south-east Asia. The discovery of monsoon winds by a Greek mariner Hippalus in 46 A.D. was a breakthrough in sea-trade in asmuchas it enabled the mariners to undertake mid-sea journies rather than the slow moving coastal navigation. This changing situation is reflected in the *Avadāna-śataka* to a large extent. The text calls *samudra* (sea) also as *makarālaya* (the abode of large marine creatures),[61] and *lavaṇajala* (the saline water).[62]

Our text suggests that individual initiative and enterprise played as much important role as the organisation and planning in the growth and development of maritime trade during this period. Many traders, impelled by the desire to further augment their wealth decided to go to the sea. Some of them undertook such journies more than once. Kusīda, the son of a *śreṣṭhī* of Śrāvastī undertook sea-voyages six times[63] Another *sārthavāha* mentioned in the *Sārthavāhāvadāna* is stated to have visited the sea at least thrice. Kusīda, the hero of the *Kusīdāvadāna*, is said to have declared himself a *sārthavāha* by publicly announcing his decision to undertake a sea-voyage. The

intention of this public announcement was clearly to associate other traders with him. In fact the very term *sārthavāha* means the leader of a company of merchants. The position is even more clear in the *Maitrakaṇyakāvadāna* in which Maitrakaṇyaka, the hero of the story, announces his decision publicly by ringing of a bell and inviting other traders of Vārāṇasī to join him.[64]

It seems that the state also encouraged such organised maritime trade ventures. In the *Avadāna* just mentioned, we are told that during the announcement the traders were informed that all the wares would be exempted from various types of taxes and levies namely *śulka* (custom), *gulma* (wharp dues) and *tārapaṇya* (ferry charges).[65]

This offer, we are told, induced as many as five hundred traders to join Maitrakaṇyaka. Except this incidental piece of information, the text does not furnish any data regarding the relationship between the maritime traders and the state. However we are inclined to think on the basis of the above mentioned casual remark in our text that the state gave certain concessions including exemption from some taxes with a view to promote maritime trade which not only contributed to the overall welfare of the state but also to the enrichment of the royal treasury.

The maritime trade in comparison to overland trade was much more profitable and ensured a higher and more respectable position in the society. Consequently, ambitious traders and merchants gave up the safety and security of less mobile trades and knowingly and consciously opted for the hazards and dangers of the sea trade. Maitrakaṇyaka who started his carier as a small trader (*aukkarika*)[66] gradually rose to the higher rung of the ladder and first became a perfume dealer (*gandhika*)[67] and then a dealer in gold-ornaments (*hairaṇyika*).[68] Despite of the fact that he was leading a comparatively comfortable life and earning a handsome income, he decided to go to the sea in search of more wealth. The attraction

of the large profits of the sea trade was so alluring that the disuation of his mother and the revelation of the fact that his father who was a sea-trader died during the course of the sea-voyage did not deter him from his avowed objective. The *Avadāna* informs us that he was so much enraged at his mother whom he thought was a stumbling block in the realisation of his ambition that he struck her on the head.[69]

The lure of the get-rich and respectable quickly by undertaking sea trade was so strong that the failure of such ventures (*bhagnayāna-pātra*) did not dampen their spirits and they started pooling their available resources afresh. On the other hand if such a venture proved to be successful (*siddhayāna-pātra*,[70] *samsidhayāna-pātra*)[71] it further whetted their desire for material gain and social respectability. The maritime traders were considered a group apart in social hierarchy and much above the practitioners of such trades as small scale trade, perfume-dealing and dealing in gold ornaments. If a person belonging to this group opted for such petty trades, he was looked down upon by other members of the community. In the text, such an option has been called living by unsuitable means[72].

That the maritime trader earned immense wealth in course of a few years in comparison to the small earnings, e.g. four *kārṣapaṇas* daily by a small trader, eight *kārṣāpaṇas* daily by a perfume dealer and sixteen and thirtytwo *kārṣāpaṇas* on the consecutive days by a dealer in gold ornaments, made all the difference in material wealth and social status.[73]

The evidence of the *Avadāna-śataka* further suggests that this profession like all other professions in ancient Indian social structure was gradually becoming hereditory.

Before undertaking the sea journey, the company of traders had to hire a ship and employ attendants and different categories of crew including the captain of the

ship to handle it. In the *Samudrāvadāna* and the *Maitrakaṇyakāvadāna* we are told that the merchants had to pay a large amount of five hundred *purāṇas* to the owners of ships.[74]

In one instance, the leader of the company is said to have been accompanied by his wife who in the course of journey gave birth to a male child.[75] This, however, seems to be an exception. In general, the traders did not take their wives or children with them keeping in view the dangers which they had to face in the sea. With the increase in maritime trade, particularly with the countries of south-east Asia, some traders started settling down permanently in these countries after marrying local women. This emerging trend might have prompted some women to accompany their husbands.

Among the dangers, most dreaded by the mariners and sea traders was the sea storm which either deviated the ship from its proper course *(kālikavātena tadvāhānām itaś ca amutaś ca paribhramyate)*[77] or totally destroyed it. Because of this dreaded nature of the sea-storm it has been equated with a fierce demoness (*kālikā - rākṣasī)*[78]. The ships were also wreked by monster-sized marine creatures like whale, shark, etc. which have been called *makara-matsya-jāta.*[79] In the case of the wreck or deviation of the ship, the boarders either died or were stranded in unknown islands where they had to face many problems and had little hope of being rescued. In an *Avadāna* of our text, the difficulties faced by such stranded traders are given in detail. This *Avadāna* also indicates that many of these traders were condemned to live for the rest of their lives in these strange lands in spite of their best efforts to get out of there.[80] As the resources and devices to rescue the endangered and stranded navigators and maritime traders were not well developed the people naturally fell back upon supplicating various gods and goddesses at the time of their departure[81] and when they really faced the problem, by offering their prayers and performing different types

of rituals. The technical terms for these rituals so performed are *kutūhala-maṅgala* and *svastyayana*.[82] The deities so invoked were Śiva, Varuṇa, Kubera, Vāyu, Agni, Mahendra, Bhuvi, Tuvimagha, and Viśvadevas.[83] The followers of the heretical sects invoked the founders of their respective sects. The traders who believed in Buddhism invoked the compassion and infinite power of the Buddha. After the merchants safely returned home, their families expressed their gratitude to the gods and goddesses by offering flowers, incense and certain objects.[84]

In spite of all these details regarding the preparations for the long, tedious and dangerous journey and the sail for foreign lands in large hired ships, our text does not mention the names of the foreign lands which were their destination. In the *Sārthavāhāvadāna*, an island called Ratnadvīpa has been specified as the destination of a *sārthavāha* from Śrāvastī. However, in the present stage of our knowledge, we are not in a position to identify this island which is so often mentioned in the Avadāna Literature.[85] The name can be treated either as a mythical or a generic term for the islands of south-east Asia which were rich in various types of precious and semi-precious stones. In the *Maitrakaṇyakāvadāna*, four cities (*nagara*) with the names of Ramanaka, Sadamatta, Nandana, Brahmottara and a fifth city namely Ayomaya are mentioned which were visited by the trader-hero. The first four are said to have been very rich in *maṇi* (gem), *mukta* (pearl), *pravāla* (coral), *jātarūpa* (gold), *rajata* (silver).[86] The last one is in *ayomaya* (iron). However, all these cities seem to be mythical.[87]

The same problem crops up in regard to the articles which the traders brought back with them from the places they visited. In the two *Avadānas* of the text namely the *Kusīdāvadāna* and the *Sārthavāhāvadāna*, we are told that the traders procured plenty of different types of jewels by the sea-borne trade. In the *Muktāvadāna* a certain maritime trader is said to have brought a necklace

of pearls for his wife.[88] In the *Padmākṣāvadāna*, another sea-faring trader is shown to have donated a special type of gem *mahendranīlakamaṇi*, most probably an emerald to the *stūpa* of Vipaśyi Samyaksambuddha.[89]

In conclusion we would like to say that the picture of trade and commerce from circa 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D., based mainly on the evidence of the *Avadāna-śataka* is neither complete nor flawless and many important facets are either missing or incomplete. However, these drawbacks can be removed to a large extent with the help of evidence provided by other sources both archaeological and literary.

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GANESH U. THITE

A NOTE ON THE BRĀHMAṆADHAMMIKASUTTA

In the *Brāhmaṇadhammikasutta* (*Suttanipāta* II.7) we find some thoughts of the Buddha on the Brahmanical religion in general and on the animal-sacrifice in particular. According to the Buddha, the earlier Brahmanical religion was different from the later one as far as the animal-sacrifice is concerned. The earlier brahmins were noble in all aspects of behaviour and characterised by knowledge and good conduct.[1] They used to beg for rice-grains, bed, garments, ghee, and oil and thereby used to perform a sacrifice, but in that sacrifice they did not kill cows[2]. But slowly there was a change in their attitude particularly after seeing the wealth and women of the kings. [3] Then they approached the kings and requested them to perform sacrifices like *Aśvamedha* and *Puruṣamedha*. In these sacrifices, they could get a lot of *dakṣiṇās* in the form of cows, garments, women, chariots, horses, etc. They then became more and more greedy.[4] They then approached the kings again and then in those sacrifices thousands of cows were killed.[5] Earlier, there were only three diseases namely desire, hunger and old age. But when people started killing cows, the number of diseases increased upto ninetyeight.[6]

Now it will be interesting to examine critically these thoughts of the Buddha in the context of the Vedic evidences.

We can very well understand the attitude of the Buddha towards animal-killing or cow-slaughter in the Vedic ritual. Even in the Vedic texts we notice that the description of the act of animal-killing contains some euphemistic expressions and the thoughts of *ahiṃsā* are coming up even in the ritualistic circles.[7] Historically speaking we may remark that the attitude of the Buddha towards animal-killing was not favourable 'only in the Brahmanical ritualistic context.' Elsewhere he could not stop the slaughter of animals. Moreover, the Buddhists are not characterised by vegetarianism and their justifications of non-vegeterianism are full of after-thought and escapism. But my main concern here is that the chronology and sequence, in connection with the animal-sacrifice and with the cow-sacrifice, as given by the Buddha is not in strict conformity with the corresponding references in the Vedic literature.

In this context let me mention a story given in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa.*[8] In this story different stages of animal-sacrifice are mentioned. Originally man was a sacrificial animal. Then horse, then ox, then sheep and then he-goat became sacrificial animals. It is said there that the sacrificial essence went away from one animal to the next animal and ultimately it entered into the Earth. Through the Earth it entered into rice-grains and through them into the sacrificial bread (*puroḍāśa*). So ultimately we find that the sacrificial bread is supposed to be animal in a mystical way. This story throws some light on the evolution of sacrifice according to the Vedic texts. It is clear that the animal cow or ox was used as a victim in days earlier than those of the sacrificial bread. Actually the use of sacrificial bread was the last stage in the course of the history of animal sacrifice. The sacrificial bread then became established in the Vedic ritual very prominently. It also represents the development of the thoughts on *ahiṃsā* in the context of the Vedic ritual. But this goes against what the Buddha has said. According to him vegetarian offerings proceeded the animal-offerings. There is thus no agreement between

the two views. The thoughts of the Buddha on the ritual tradition of the *Brāhmaṇas* do not find any support in the Vedic texts themselves.

Secondly the sacrifices like *Aśvamedha*, etc. are mentioned by the Buddha as an intermediary stage following the vegetarian sacrifices and proceeding the cow-sacrifices. This also goes against the Vedic ritual tradition. For the sacrifices like *Aśvamedha* and *Soma* sacrifices and as such do contain the cow-slaughter in the form of a sacrifice of '*Anubandhyā-vasā*-cow-sacrifice'[9]. So the conclusion is that the cow-sacrifice was quite old and even older than any other sacrifice. The evolution of Vedic sacrifices indicates that the cow-sacrifices were earlier and bread-sacrifices were a later development which may be due to the growth of the *ahiṃsā* doctrine on the one hand and due to the simplicity and less expensiveness of the bread, etc. on the other. In any case the view that earlier there was no cow-slaughter and it came and grew only afterwards when the brāhmaṇas became more greedy is not, really speaking, corroborated by the Vedic texts.

It will be interesting to throw some light on the word *niraggaḷa* which occurs in the *Brāhmaṇadhammikasutta* and elsewhere also, in Pali-literature as one of the sacrifices mentioned in the list of Vedic sacrifices. They are read in the *Brāhmanadhammikasutta* :

> *tato ca rājā saññatto brāhmaṇeti rathe sabho /*
>
> *assamedhaṃ purisamedham vacapeyyaṃ sammāpāsam niraggaḷam /*
>
> *ete yāgā yojitvāna brāhmaṇānām adā dhanam /*
> Verse 20.

According to Kane *Niraggaḷa* might be same as the *Viśvajit* sacrifice.[10] According to Kosambi *Niraggaḷa* must be a later form of the *Aśvamedha* which consisted of letting the horse free (the word *Niraggaḷa* literally means unbarred, unlimited, free, etc.)[11].

According to Bapat, who takes the help of the Pali commentaries, *Niraggaḷa* is a variety of horse sacrifice called *Sākamedha* - so called because the sacrifice does not have any bar or obstruction.[12] It consists, according to these commentaries of nine subsidiary sacrifices, and the tenth day is the *Viśvajit* sacrifice. Bapat, having taken clue from information, goes a little further and says that *Niraggaḷa* means *Sarvamedha*. It is so called because there is no limit to the things to be given as gifts (*dakṣiṇā*) in their sacrifice. It may be noted that all these views are of the nature of conjecture and no view is based upon any Vedic textual evidence.

In the *Mahābhārata* the word *nirargala* is used as an adjective of *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. [13] In the *Vāyupurāṇa* the word *nirargala* is used as an adjective of sacrifices in general.[14] Sometimes the word *nirargala* is used as an adjective of the *Sarvamedha* sacrifice.[15]

It may now be remarked that neither the Buddhist authors nor those of the *Mahābhārata* and purāṇic literature knew the exact meaning of the word *nirargala / niraggaḷa*. So also none of the modern scholars (mentioned above) has been able to explain the word *nirargala*. With the help of the proper Vedic reference, I therefore want to draw the attention of the scholars to a passage in *Mānavaśrautasūtra* (a properly ritualistic text) VIII. 18.4 where we read:

sarvāṇāṃ vanaspatīnāṃ purastāt sviṣṭakṛto

rasam juhoti eṣa eva nirargalaḥ.

So according to this passage, *nirargala* is a minor rite and not a sacrifice like *Aśvamedha* or *Sarvamedha*. This rite is a part of the *Sarvamedha* sacrifice. The rite consists of offering of the juice of all the trees. This is a very important and direct reference which can solve the problem of the meaning of the word *nirargala / niraggaḷa*.

Buddhist texts have elsewhere also mentioned the word *niraggaḷa* as the name of a sacrifice.[16] The Buddhist texts sometimes also use the word *nirgaḍa* (instead of *niraggaḷa*) as an adjective of the sacrificer in general. [17] *The Lalitavistara* (I.341) and *Mahāvyutpatti* (43) also use the word *nirargaḍa* as an adjective of the sacrifices in general. In the *Majjhimanikāya* (I.139) the word *niraggaḷa* is used in the Buddhist doctrinal sense. Thus a monk who is free from the five fetters is said to be *niraggaḷa*.

A general remark can be made here regarding the knowledge and study of the Vedic ritual in general. Neither epic-purāṇic nor the Buddhist tradition is aware of the technical information about the Vedic ritual details. They have only a few broad notions about the Vedic rituals, but hardly any detailed information. This is perhaps due to the fact that the Vedic ritual as such was very highly specialised field (limited to only a few *Brāhmaṇas* - and not all the *Brāhmaṇas*).

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11. ABORI. XXXII, 1951-52, p.54.
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13. *ayajac cāśvamedhair yo vijitya pṛthivīm imām /*
    nirargalair bahuphalair niṣkakoṭisahasradaḥ //
    Mahābhārata VII. App.I.8.416f.

    See also ibid. VII.App.I.8.451f.;XII. 29.53; III.275.69.
14. *daśa yajñasahasrāṇi teṣu dvīpeṣu saptasu /*
    nirargalāḥ sma nirvṛttāḥ śrūyante tasya dhīmataḥ //
    Vāyupurāṇa 94.16. cf. *Mahābhārata* IX.4.
15. *daśāśvamedhān ājahre svannapān āptadakṣiṇān /*
    nirargalān sarvamedhān putravat pālayan prajāḥ /
    Mahābhārata VII.9.61.
16. See also *Aṅguttaranikāya* II.43; *Saṁyuttanikāya* I.76; *Mahāvastu* II.100, 237; *Itivuttaka* 20.
17. *Lalitavistara* I.318.

K.A. NEELAKANTAN ELAYATH

TYPES OF SENTENCES IN ADVAITAVEDĀNTA

In Advaita though *śabda* as a means of valid cognition belongs to the sphere of *avidyā*, liberation is attained through a process which requires *śabda*. The *mumukṣu* not only has to hear the *mahāvākyas* like *tat tvam asi* and *ahaṃ brahmāsmi* but also has to understand the meaning of these sentences. It is in this context of interpreting the *mahāvākyas* that Advaitins are concerned with the problems of sentence-meaning. What is the meaning of a sentence and what are the types of sentences? In Advaita works these two questions largely figure in discussions on sentence meaning. Though they are primarily concerned with upaniṣadic sentences the principles evolved by them are applicable to *laukikavākyas* as well.

A clear definition of a sentence appears for the first time in the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* of Jaimini: *arthaikatvāt ekam vakyaṃ sākāṅkṣaṃ cet vibhāge syāt*[1] 'a group of words conveying a single idea if on analysis found to have *ākāṅkṣā* or mutual expectancy is called a sentence'. Bhartṛhari refers

to a similar definition as one of the well-known definitions of a sentence[2] and the later Mīmāṃsakas are said to have given other difinitions also.

The view that groups of words revealing a single idea constitute a sentence is more or less accepted by Advaitins. The controversy seems to be regarding the real import of a sentence. It is traditionally held especially by Vaiyākaraṇas that the meaning of a sentence is *saṃsarga* 'mutual association of word-meanings' or *bheda* 'mutual exclusion of word-meanings'. Later Kaiyaṭa argued that these two views attributed to Vājapyāyana and Vyāḍi respectively are not exclusive as each one implied the other,[3] and *saṃsarga* came to be recognised as the meaning of a sentence. Thus from the point of view of import, only one type of sentence is recognised that which reveals *saṃsarga* or mutual association of word-meanings as the meaning of a sentence.

Though this is the generally accepted view on sentence-meaning the whole question was re-examined by Advaitins in connection with the interpretation of the *mahāvākyas* of the Upaniṣads. The Advaita tradition not only retains the early differences between *bheda* and *saṃsarga*, but also understands them in two different senses. According to them these terms refer to the mutual relation of word-meanings and are applicable to two different types of sentences.[4]

Accordingly in certain types of sentences, *bheda* is the import of a sentence. The example given is *daṇḍena gām ānaya* 'bring the cow with a stick'. The constituent words of this sentence reveal *bheda* or difference and presents to the mind a manifold of inter-related things. In all such

cases, what is ultimately presented is *bheda* and it is denoted by different case-endings (*bhinna-vibhakti-nirdiṣṭa*).

The other type of sentence is where the sentence-meaning is *saṃsarga*. The example given is *nīlam utpalam* 'the lotus is blue'. The sentence here presents to the mind a single object and its qualifying features are indicated by the constituent words and that too by the same case - endings (*abhinna-vibhakti-nirdiṣṭa*). In the former type of sentence, i.e. *bheda*, the constituent words not only retain their diversity of meaning but also point to different objects. Here in *saṃsṛṣṭa-vākyas* though the words retain the diversity of their meanings they ultimately point to a single object. The difference between these two types of sentences was overlooked by later Advaitins and both sentences are referred to as *saṃsṛṣṭa-vākyas* 'sentences that reveal *saṃsarga* as the import'.

Besides these two, there is a third type of sentence called *akhaṇḍārtha-vākya* with which Advaitins are primarily concerned. Such sentences are identity-statements and reveal an impartite or mono-lythic meaning without any relations. As in other sentences revealing *saṃsarga*, here the verbal cognition does not involve any relations but simply indicates the substantive or *prātipadika*. The constituent words used in the same case-endings reveal an impartite meaning (*akhaṇḍārtha*). The examples given to this are *so 'yaṃ devadattaḥ* 'this is that Devadatta', *tat tvam asi* 'thou art that', *satyaṃ jñānam anantaṃ brahma* 'Brahman is truth, knowledge and infinite'.

The identity-statements as a separate class by themselves was first noticed by Śaṅkara in the *mahāvākya*: *tat tvam asi*.[5] He says that the sentence presents to the

mind the real identity of two things (Ātman and Brahman) and is different from such statements as *āditya brahmā* 'The Sun is Brahman' and *siṃho 'si* 'you are a lion' where the primary meaning is not at all intended (*upacarita*). The nature of identity-statements such as *tat tvam asi* and *so 'yaṃ devadattaḥ* were clearly brought out by later Advaitins like Sarvajñātman, Citsukha and Madhusūdana and they declared that such sentences convey only *akhaṇḍārtha*.

Citsukha in this *Tattvapradīpikā* gives two definitions of *akhaṇḍārtha*:[6] (1) *aparyāyaśabdānāṃ saṃsargagocarapramitijanakatvam* - when the non-synonymous words of a sentence reveal an integral meaning without any mutual relation as the content of a valid knowledge that sentence has an *akhaṇḍārtha*; (2) *aparyāyaśabdānām ekaprātipadikārthamātraparyavasāyitvam* - when the non-synonymous words of a sentence denote the mere meaning of a stem it is a case of *akhaṇḍārtha*. All identity-statements like *tat tvam asi, so 'yaṃ devadattaḥ*., etc. and sentences describing the essential nature of things (*svarūpalakṣaṇa*) according to him are instances of *akhaṇḍārtha*.

The first definition of *akhaṇḍārtha* was later modified by Madhusūdana and the word *saṃsarga* in Citsukha's definition is explained as *padavṛttismāritātirikta*[7]. It means that the inter-relational meaning is different from that which is recalled by the denotative power of words in that sentence. Both Anvitābhidhānavādins and Abhihitānvyayavādins explain the sentence-meaning in *samsṛṣṭa-vākyas* as being cognised by the primary and secondary denotative powers of words respectively. Both

according to them fall outside the verbal cognition and is not known (*ajñāta*). Hence the sentence meaning is not ultimately recollected by the power of words (*padavṛttismārita*).

Thus, in all statements of identity and in all statements descriptive of the essential nature of a thing, the import of the sentence is said to be *akhaṇḍa*. And such sentences are of a unique type. Advaitin's classification of certain sentences as *akhaṇḍa* also does not contradict the original definition of sentence given by Jaimini. The conditions of knowing the meaning of a sentence such as *ākāṅkṣā*, *yogyatā*, etc. are also fulfilled in such statements. Madhusūdana's explanation in this context is most appropriate. He points out that *ākāṅkṣā* is that without which words cannot present the intended meaning(*tātparyaviṣayānvayānanubhāvakatvam ākāṅkṣā*). This intended meaning can be either *saṃsarga* or *akhaṇḍa*. As the sentences like *tat tvam asi*, etc. reveal the intended meaning of identity the constituent words have *ākāṅkṣā* and therefore should be treated as sentences.

Though the classification of sentences as *bheda, saṃsarga* and *akhaṇḍa* was made by Advaitins mainly to interpret the *mahāvākyas* of the *Upaniṣads* the classification holds good also in non-vedic sentences, and can be applied fruitfully in any discussion on sentence-meaning.

References

1. *Mīmāṃsāsūtra*, II.1.46.

2. *Vākyapadīya*, II.4.

3. Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* on II.1.1.

4. M. Hiriyanna, 'Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana', *India Philosophical Studies*, Mysore, 1972, p.75.

5. *Chāndogyopaniṣad-bhāṣya*, VI. 16.

6. *Tattvapradīpikā,* Varanasi, 1974, p.193.

7. *Advaitasiddhi*, Delhi, 1962, p.662

SREERAMULA RAJESWARA SARMA

MATHEMATICAL LITERATURE IN TELUGU: AN OVERVIEW *

The *Pāvulūrigaṇitamu* (=PG), a Telugu rendering of Mahāvīra's *Gaṇitasārasaṃgraha*[1] (=GSS) by Pāvulūri Mallana, is generally accepted as a product of the late 11th century. Mallana states that Rājarāja gave an *agrahāra* to his grandfather, also called Mallana. Hence the grandson Mallana must be a younger contemporary of Nannaya and the PG the second extant work in Telugu after Nannaya's *Āndhramahābhāratamu*. At the same time, the PG is also the earliest known translation of a scientific text from Sanskrit into any regional language.

Thus the importance of PG, whether in the history of Telugu literature, or in the history of mathematics in the Andhra region, or in the history of translations of scientific texts in India, can hardly be overemphasised.[2] Yet so far not much interest has been shown in the study of PG.[3] In fact, the full text is not even available in print. Only a small portion was published from Tirupati in 1952 and this was edited by the great Telugu savant Veturi Prabhakara Sastri.[4] About the history of mathematical literature after Mallana we know still less.[5] We are thus depriving ourselves of a part of our heritage which ought to be as precious as any other aspect of Telugu past. In this paper I wish

to present the little we know about the history of mathematical literature in Telugu and plead for systematic efforts to study this sadly neglected area.

As translator, Mallana's performance is impressive. The lucidity with which he renders the terse Sanskrit of Mahāvīra is worth emulating by every modern translator of scientific texts. His way of handling mathematical rules or examples containing large numbers — some examples have as many as 36 digits — is unrivalled even in Sanskrit. But is Mallana just a good translator, or did he make any original contribution of his own? This cannot be answered either way until there is a good critical edition of the full text or a complete picture of the manuscript tradition of PG.

Nevertheless, on the basis of the printed edition from Tirupati and the descriptions of the mss of PG at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras,[6] (=GOML) some tentative conclusions can be drawn. The original GSS in Sanskrit contains a *saṃjñādhikāra* and eight chapters on so many topics: 1. *parikarma*, 2. *kalāsavarṇa*, 3. *prakīrṇaka*, 4. *trairāśika*, 5. *miśraka*, 6. *kṣetra*, 7 *khāta* and 8. *chāyā*. The Tirupati edition of PG breaks off in the middle of the second chapter. A comparison of this edition with the Sanskrit original shows that PG omits certain portions but adds many others. Thus, while GSS teaches 5 methods of squaring and 7 of cubing, the Telugu version has only one each and avoids all algebraic methods. At this stage it is difficult to say whether this omission is due to Mallana himself or to a later redactor. The additions, on the other hand, are of immense interest to us.

The *Saṃjñādhikāra* of GSS defines the numerical and metrological terminology. Of numbers, it enumerates the names of 24 decimal notational places, that is from 10 to 10^{23}. Instead of translating these Sanskrit stanzas, PG (p.12) just reproduces them but adds three more stanzas

in Sanskrit, thus continuing the notational places up to 36.[7]

In the Sanskrit original, Mahāvīra gives the pan-Indian units of measurement, which he calls *magadhamāna*. In their stead, Mallana offers the units prevailing in Āndhradeśa in his time. It is fairly certain that these are not interpolations but were introduced by Mallana himself, since the same units are employed in several examples. These units pertain to the following measurements : 1. *bhūmipramāṇamu* (linear measure), 2. *kuṃṭa*⁰ (area), 3. *udaka*⁰ (volume of liquids), 4. *dhānya*⁰ (volume of grain), 5. *kāṃcana*⁰ (weights of gold), 6. *tulā*⁰ (weights of other commodities), and 7. *kāla*⁰ (time) (pp. 4-11). It is needless to emphasise that the names of these units are of great value both for the economic history and the history of Telugu language.

The third type of addition relates to mathematics proper. PG contains some 45 additional examples under multiplication and 21 under division, which are not found in Sanskrit. All these extra examples have one common feature, viz, to produce numbers containing a symmetric arrangement of digits. The Sanskrit original has also a few and Mahāvīra calls them "necklace numbers" (*kaṇṭhikā*) because the symmetric arrangement of digits is like the symmetric arrangement of beads in a necklace.[8] PG abounds in necklace of diverse patterns. For example, necklaces made up of just unities :

$$111 = 37 \times 3$$
$$1111 = 101 \times 11$$
$$11111 = 271 \times 41$$

$$111111111 = 37 \times 3003003 = 3 \times 37037037$$
$$111111111111 = 37 \times 3003003003003 = 101 \times 1100110011$$

and finally 111 111 111 111 111 111 111 111 111 111 111 111 =

$$1\ 763\ 668\ 430\ \ 335\ 097\ 001\ 763\ 668\ 430\ \ 335\ 097 \times 63,$$

or with unities intermingled with pearl-like zeros

100010001 = 14287143 x 7

1100110011 = 157158573 x 7

1000000001 = 142857143 x 7 = 1298013 x 77

10101010101 = 3367003367 x 3 = 777000777 x 13.

And here we have the largest pearl necklace :

10 000 000 000 000 000 000 01 =20 408 163 265 306 122 449 x 49

Mallana introduces a new formation and calls it "moon-like" number because here the digits increase from 1 to *n* and then decrease up to 1 just as the phases of the Moon gradulally increase and then decrease in an *amānta* lunar month,e.g.

12345654321 = 111111 x 111111 (p. 24[9]).

A variation of this is where each digit occurs twice as in

1122334455667788998877665544332211 =

124 703 878 407 532 110 986 407 282 703 579 x 9.

There are also reverse cases of the Moon numbers with digits first decreasing from *n* upto zero and then increasing upto *n*, like the Moon's phases in a *pūrṇimānta* month :

6543210123456 = 146 053 847 x 448

9876543210123456789 = 1 097 393 690 013 717 421 x 9 (p. 26[10])

and other amusing formations without a label like

777778888899999 = 2 710 030 971 777 x 287

112233445566778899 = 12 470 382 840 753 211 x 9

9 x 6666666655555555 = 5 9999999 8 9999999 5.

It should be noted that often for one product several sets of factors are given. Again it is difficult to say whether

all these are Mallana's own innovations or interpolations of a later age. But even if they are interpolations, they show the fondness of the Telugus for such magic numbers, and this predilection may have been engenered by Mallana through his mellifluous verses like the following in *Mattakokila* metre :

aṣṭacaṃdrulun aṣṭabāhulun aṣṭarāmulun aṃbudhul
aṣṭasaṃkhyalun aṣṭabāṇamul aṣṭaśāstravitānamul
aṣṭaśailamul aṣṭahastulun aṣṭanaṃdanarāsulun
sṛṣṭilopala nūṭayŏkkaṭa jĕppu pālgona labdhamul.
(p. 42).

The verse instructs us to perform the following divisions:

11111111 ÷ 101 = 1100011; 22222222 ÷ 101 = 2200022

33333333 ÷ 101 = 3300033;. 99999999 ÷ 101 = 9900099.

Note that here all the three quantities - the dividend, divisor and quotient - are necklace numbers.

It is indeed likely that problems such as these which produce startling results attracted the attention not just of serious mathematicians who invented more problems like these but also of laymen who posed these problems as puzzles or riddles under the village tree.

Reverting to PG, while it is difficult to say whether Mallana added anything new into the chapters, it is certain that his Telugu version contained (1+) 8 chapters like the original. At a later stage, two new chapters called *Suvarṇagaṇitamu* and *Sūtragaṇitamu* were added and PG came to be known as the *Daśavidhagaṇitamu*.

From the description of the mss of PG at GOML, one gets the impression that the popularity of PG, paradoxically enough, inhibited the composition of new mathematical texts in Telugu. Instead of writing a new book, successive generations of mathematicians added their contributions, often in equally beautiful verse, into the

appropriate chapter of PG. Only a few of these can be identified as interpolations as they refer to persons or events posterior to Mallana.[11] Copyists also interpolated verses from other sources. Furthermore, as with most of such popular books, mss containing single chapters began to be made and these continued a separate existene of growth and interpolation.[12]

The chapter on area measure called *Kṣetragaṇitamu* has been the *vade-mecum* of the village *Karaṇams* through the centuries and in their hands it underwent changes of all kinds; in particular, units of length and area were changed in accordance with the local usage. At the beginning of the last century, one such copy fell into the hands of Benjamin Heyne who translated it with the help of "a Brahmin above eighty years of age ... who could repeat the greatest part of the work by heart."[13] The text Heyne used went through so many changes that it is hardly recognizable as a translation of GSS. Therefore, the reconstruction of PG as Mallana may have written it is going to be a challenging task.

According to two stanzas quoted by Cagamti Sesayya, one Elugamti Peddana was not satisfied with the way Mallana rendered the second and third chapters of GSS into Telugu and so wrote his own *Bhinnaprakīrṇagaṇita*.[14] P. T. Raju says: "Two mathematical works of the eleventh century, *Gaṇitasārasaṃgrahamu* and *Prakīrṇagaṇitamu*, written by Pāvulūri Mallana and Elugaṃṭi Peddana respectively, are now available."[15] But my search for a printed edition or a ms of Peddana's work has been in vain, nor do I know on what evidence P. T. Raju assigns Peddana also to the 11th century. From the above-mentioned stanzas it appears that by Peddana's time, PG was already known as *Daśavidhagaṇitamu*.

The rest of the known history of mathematical literature in Telugu can be related in a few sentences. In the 16th century, Koḍūri Vallabha or Vallabharāya, son

of Rāghavasūri and grandson of Erraya, translated Bhāskara's *Līlāvatī* into Telugu at the instance of Bommalāṭa Kāḷayya, an officer at the court of Acyutarāya of Vijayanagar.[16] At the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century, Piṃgaḷi Veṃkaṭādri, a descendant of Piṃgaḷi Sūrana, wrote *Kṣetragaṇitamu* based on PG.[17] In the last quarter of the 19th century, Tadakamalla Veṃkaṭakṛṣṇārāvu translated Bhāskara's *Līlāvatī* and *Bījagaṇita* into Telugu.[18] GOML has a few other anonymous texts, one of which has the title *Veṃkaṭeśagaṇitamu* because it is dedicated to the deity of that name.[19] This is all I could gather from the catalogues of GOML. But there are many other manuscript collections and there must be many more mss in private hands. I came across two mss through a chance enquiry and I have hopes that an organised effort will bring many more mathematical texts to light.

As I was looking for mss of PG during my last visit to Andhra Pradesh, Sri Mantri Gopala Krishna Murti, a paternal friend, very generously gave me two copybooks filled by his father, Mantri Panakalu Rayudu (1883-1928). The latter was a school master in many villages in the then Guntur district. His main passion, however, was mathematics and he was fond of asking deceptively simple mathematical riddles. He read widely and collected material on mathematics from both Telugu and Sanskrit sources in his copybooks. From him, his son inherited remarkable abilities of traditional computation: with amazing speed he once constructed for me a magic square of the order twentyseven. Of the many copybooks filled by his father, Gopala Krishna Murti could rescue only two; but these contain much interesting material. Besides a large extract of PG, there is a small treatise in 40 stanzas covering the whole range of arithmetic. There is no title, nor author's name, but it must emanate from Muktinutalapadu near Ongole, since each stanza concludes with the refrain *muktinūtalapāṭi-sthalakhelā dīnabandho veṇugopālakā.*[20] There are also some stray verses from a *Muktinūtalapāṭi-*

Nṛsiṃhajña-Gaṇitamu, invoking this time *callamalleśa, muktipuranivāsa, īśā*. The mss also contain an anonymous chapter on *trairāśika*, and some mathematical riddles in Telugu and Sanskrit.

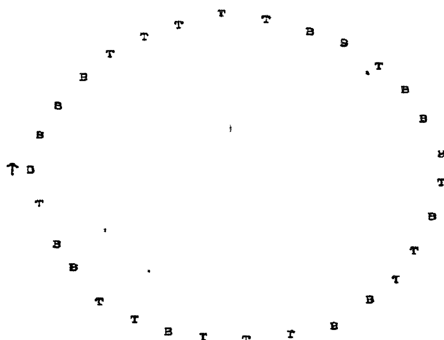
But the most remarkable find is the solution to what is known as Josephus problem. The problem consists in arranging in a circle two equal groups of good persons and bad fellows in such a manner that each n-th person to be removed from the circle must be a bad fellow. Though named after the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus (37-100 A.D.), this problem was not known in Europe before the 10th century. Japan is the only other place where this problem was known. It became popular there some time after the 12th century.[21] This is the first time that I come across this problem in any Indian source. The Telugu version which I now discovered runs as follows: 15 brahmins and 15 thieves had to spend a dark night at an isolated temple of Durga. At midnight, the goddess appeared in person and wanted to devour just 15 persons because she was hungry. The thieves naturally suggested that she should consume the 15 soft-limbed brahimins. But the brahmins proposed that all the 30 would stand in a circle and that Durga should eat each ninth person. the proposal was accepted by Durga and the thieves. So the brahmins arranged themselves and the thieves in a circle, telling each one where to stand. Durga counted out each ninth person and devoured him. When 15 were thus eaten, she was satiated and disappeared, and only brahmins now remained in the circle. The problem is: how to arrange the brahmins and thieves in the circle.[22] The answer is couched in a *Mattebhavikrīḍita*:

> *yuga-bāṇākṣi-dharāgni-candra-śaśi-bāhu-dvandva-rāmeṃdulaṃ*
>
> *yugaḷī-karṇakalā-dvisaṃkhya-gudigān ūhiṃci yantyastha vi-*

praganaṃ bādiga dŏmmiḍiṃṭa kramam ŏppaṃ durga bhakṣiṃpuco

mŏgi viprul jayam ŏṃdi taskarulu nirmūlambulair aṃdarun.

Here we have the alternating numbers of brahmins and thieves to be positioned in the circle: 4 brahmins, 5 thieves; 2,1; 3,1; 1,2; 2,3; 1,2; 2,1.



Arrangement of 15 brahmins (B) and 15 thieves (T) in a circle. The starting point is indicated by the arrow.

Another variant - it was not known in Europe - is so to arrange 30 brahmins and 30 thieves that each 12th person to be removed must be a thief. The solution is given in a *Campakamālikā* :

aruvadi yaṃkĕlum ravulan aṃdina corulu nilva viprulau -

duru dharaṇīṃdu-candra-kara-dor-bhuja-bhū-guṇa-vahni-bh[illegible]vi-bhū-

dharaṇi-dharākṣi-soma-vasudhā-kṣiti-bhūrvi-dharitri-vārdhi-doḥ-

sthiralu śaśi-dvi-tarka-śara-cid-dharaṇīṃdu-dṛg-abdhi-somulun.

Here also there are pairs of numbers, the first one of brahmins and the second of thieves : *dharaṇi, iṃdu* (1, 1,) ; *candra, kara* (1, 2); *dor, bhuja* (2, 2); *bhū, guṇa* (1, 3); *vahni, bhū* (3, 1); *urvi, bhū* (1, 1), *dharaṇi, dhara* (1, 1); *akṣi, soma* (2, 1); *vasudha, kṣiti* (1, 1); *bhū, urvi* (1, 1); *dharitri, vārdhi* (1, 4); *doḥ, sthira* (2, 1); *śaśi, dvi* (1, 2); *tarka, śara* (6, 5); *cit, dharaṇi* (1, 1); *iṃdu, dṛg* (1, 2); *abdhi, soma* (4, 1).

Unfortunately we do not know where the late Pānakālu Rāyuḍu copied these stanzas from. His background and the other material in his copy books indicate that these are not versifications of the riddles learnt from some modern western source. That these are, on the contrary, part of the floating indigenous literature of riddles is confirmed when Sri Nannapaneni Subba Rao, a farmer in my village near Ongole, posed the first of these riddles to me. His solution is naturally the same, but formulated differenty, using ordinary numbers :

viprulu naluvuru, prathamāṃśamunan aidu (4, 5)
toṭa viprulu rĕṃdu, dŏṃga yŏkaḍu (2, 1)
dvijulu mugguru, sthiramugān ŏkka dŏṃga (3, 1)
dharaṇīśvaruḍ okaṃḍu, daskarulu remḍu (1, 2)
viprul iddaru, viḍi doṃgalu mugguru (2, 3)
brāhmaṇuḍ okkaḍu, baṃṭulu remḍu (1, 2)
agrajanmulu rĕṃḍu, aṭumīdan ŏka dŏṃga (2, 1).

Two versions of the same riddle in the same geographic area does indeed demonstrate the wide popularity of mathematical riddles in Andhra Pradesh[23]. Whether this is an offshoot of the popularity of the mathematical literature, or whether riddles — mathematical or otherwise – are transmitted in a different process independent of literature, is a question I am not competent to answer. But a collection of such mathematical riddles would certainly enrich the history of mathematics.

I may conclude this paper with a plea that an organised effort should be made by some university of Andhra Pradesh to save this mathematical heritage of the Telugus. The effort should be directed first at a survey and collection of all the mss on mathematics in public and private collections, and then at preparing critical editions, at least of the *Pavuluriganitamu*.

Notes and References

* Read at the section on Telugu Language, Literature and Culture, All India Oriental Conference, 34th session, Visakhapatnam, January 1989.

1. Ed. & tr. by M. Rangacharya, Madras 1912.

2. See my "The Pāvulūrigaṇitamu: the first Telugu Work on Mathematics," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, 13-4 (1987), 163-176.

3. It is gratifying that this paper apparently inspired one member of the audience at Visakhapatnam to read PG, cf. K. Kusumabai, 'Sārasaṃgrahagaṇitamu',: *Telugu, Vaijñānika Māsapatrika*, 3.3. (March 1989) 92-97.

4. *Sārasaṃgrahagaṇitamu, Pāvulūri Mallana (Mallikārjuna) praṇītamu*, ed. Veṭūri Prabhākara Śāstri, part 1: *Parikarma-bhinna-gaṇitamulu*, Tirupati 1952 (Sri Venkateswara Oriental Series, No. 38).

5. All that we have are two small essays: K. R. Rajagopalan, 'Mathematics in Andhra,' *Bhavan's Journal*, 6.8 (November 1959) 47-49; R. C. Gupta, "Some Telugu Authors and Works on Ancient Indian Mathematics" in: *The Souvenir of the 44th Conference of the Indian Mathematical Society*, Hyderabad 1978, pp. 25-28.

6. *Cf. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Telugu Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Madras, vol. X, Madras 1949, Nos. 2282-95.

7. The terms given by Mahāvīra are : 1. *eka* (10^0), 2. *daśa* (10^1), 3. *śata* (10^2), 4. *sahasra* (10^3), 5. *daśasahasra* (10^4), 6. *lakṣa* (10^5), 7. *daśalakṣa* (10^6), 8. *koṭi* (10^7), 9. *daśakoṭi* (10^8), 10. *śatakoṭi* (10^9), 11. *arbuda* (10^{10}), 12. *nyarbuda* (10^{11}), 13. *kharva* (10^{12}), 14. *mahākharva* (10^{13}), 15. *padma* (10^{14}), 16. *mahāpadma* (10^{15}), 17. *kṣoṇī* (10^{16}), 18. *mahākṣoṇī* (10^{17}), 19. *śaṅkha* (10^{18}), 20. *mahāśaṅkha* (10^{19}), 21. *kṣiti* (10^{20}), 22. *mahākṣiti* (10^{21}), 23. *kṣobha* (10^{22}), 24. *mahākṣobha* (10^{23}).

   To these Mallana adds 12 more terms : 25. *nidhi* (10^{24}), 26. *mahānidhi* (10^{25}), 27. *parata* (10^{26}), 28. *ananta* (10^{27}), 29. *bhūri* (10^{28}), 30. *mahābhūri* (10^{29}), 31. *meru* (10^{30}), 32. *mahāmeru* (10^{31}), 33. *bahuśa* (10^{32}), 34. *bāhuśa* (10^{33}), 35. *samudra* (10^{34}), 36. *sāgara* (10^{35}).

8. GSS, *Parikarmavyavahāra*: *narapāla-kaṇṭhikābharaṇa* (*v.* 10), *kaṇṭhābharaṇa* (*vv.* 11, 15,), *ratnakaṇṭhikābharaṇa* (12), *rājakaṇṭhikābharaṇa* (13), *kaṇṭhikā rājaputrasya yogyā* (17).

9. *ārun ŏkkaṭlan ŏḍḍugān amarabĕṭṭi*
   yaṃtaguṇakaṃbu cetanun amarabeṃci
   sŏridi vargiṃci janulaku jodyamuganu
   himakaropama-labdhaṃbun enayavaccu.

10. *śaśi-karābdhi-śaila-candra-hayāgnīṃdu-*
    gagana-diva-nidhāna-karma-rāma-
    nava-guṇādri-raṃdhra-diva-bhūmi-mita-rāśi
    grahaguṇaṃbu seyu gaṇaka-tilaka.

11. *A Descriptive Catalogue* ... (see n. 6 above), No. 2294, where Pratāparudra is mentioned.

12. Ibid. Nos. 2296-2303 are independent mss of the *Sūtragaṇita*.

13. *Tracts, Historical and Statistical, on India, with Journals of Several Tours through various parts of the Peninsula*, London 1814, pp. 172-180: "A Free Translation of the Chetri [*kṣetra*] Ganitam, or Field Measuring of the Hindoos".

14. Cāgaṃṭi Śeṣayya, *Āndhra Kavi Taraṃgiṇi*, vol.1, second ed., Kapileśvarapuramu 1955, p. 206:
ghanuḍai vīrācāryulu
tana mahiman vĕlayajesĕ daśavidhagaṇitā -
lanu paddhatulu dharitrini
munupe yaṣṭādhikāra-mulu modalaniyun.
vīrācāryulu saṃskṛtāna gaṇitāl vikhyātigā jesĕ dān a
rūḍhiṃ badi pāvulūri kavimalluṃd addi telgiṃcĕ nan
bere gāni guṇiṃpaleru gaṇakul bhinnaprakīrṇaṃbul
tīrainann elugaṃṭi peddana yavin dĕlpĕn guṇiṃpan
dharan.

15. *Telugu Literature*, Bombay 1943, p. 20.

16. A *Descriptive Catalogue* ..., No. 2280.

17. Ibid. No. 2275.

18. Ibid. Nos. 2274, 2279.

19. Ibid. No.2281.

20. I hope to publish this text soon with a mathematical commentary. Given below is a specimen, which states that the area of a circle, when multiplied by 14 and divided by 11, is equal to the square of its diameter (d) and that the area divided by a quarter of the diameter equals the circumference (c).

ilamānaṃbu caturdaśeśvarulace hĕcciṃci bhāgiṃci yā
phalamuṃ mūlamu śeya vyāsam agu tatpādāṃśace dhāruṇī
phala-rāśiṃ bhajiyiṃpa sthūlavalayaṃbau vṛttabhū muktinū -
talapāṭi-sthalakhela dīnajanabandho veṇugopālakā.

since $a = \pi d^2/4$, $d = \sqrt{a x 14} \div 11$

since $c = \pi d$, $a \div d/4 = \pi d^2/4 x 4/d = \pi d = c$.

21. Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol.3, Cambridge 1959, pp.61-62; James R. Newman, *The World of Mathematics*, vol.4, second ed., London 1961, pp. 2428-2429.

22. In Germany, the solution is provided by the mnemonic line "G*o*tt schl*u*g d*e*n m*a*nn *i*n A*ma*l*e*k, d*e*r *I*sr*ea*l b*e*zw*a*ng, " where the numerical values of the successive vowels ($a = 1$, $e = 2$, $i = 3$, $o = 4$, $u = 5$) indicate alternately the numbers of the good men and bad fellows to be arranged in the circle.

23. After this paper was completed, I came to know that this problem is discussed in the *Peddabālaśikṣa*. Perhaps it is the sourse of dissemination.

K.V. VENKATESWARA RAO

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TERM 'SAṄKAROJJHITAḤ' IN THE DHVANYĀLOKA

Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* defines suggestion as: "The poetry, wherein the word and meaning both becoming secondary, suggest the implied meaning is named by scholars as suggestion or *dhvani*." This is an apt and comprehensive definition in a nutshell. He also ably refutes the theories of those who do not believe in suggestion and who named it otherwise. He does not agree that *dhvani* is included under figures of speech and proves every thing in support of his theory. He, by explaining the *dhvani*, refers to the significance of it in appropriate contexts either through *kārikās* or mnemonic verses. This is in one way to substantiate his theory.

One of such explanatory *kārikās* is '*tatparāv eva*'[1] etc. In this, he wanted to substantiate what has already been said in the definition of suggestion. It means: "Where-

in one finds both the word and meaning solely directed towards the suggested meaning, should be taken for granted as real cases of suggested poetry." Here, in this emplanatory *kārikā*, the significance of the word *saṅkarojjhita* is discussed. One of the commentators on this work writes : "Wherein both the word and meaning are directed towards the suggestion and where there is no scope for the figure *saṃkara* or combination of figures there it becomes a case for suggestion."[1]

Quite contrary to this is the explanation in the *Locana* : *saṃkareṇālaṅkārānupraveśasambhāvanayā ujjhita ity arthaḥ. saṃkarālaṅkāreṇeti tv asat; anyālaṅkāropalakṣaṇatve hi kliṣṭaṃ syāt.* Here, there is no scope for the combination of the figures because it is already said that figures are based purely on the relation of the expressed and the expression. This being the fact, there is no point in prohibiting the association of *saṃkara*. On the other hand it is sad that the very name *saṃkara* itself prevents the possibility of idea that it is suggestion.

Even if one takes this as a simple combination of a figure of speech in general with the suggestion and not the combination of two figures, that is also not tenable. The very term *alaṅkāra* denotes that it is unimportant because it always stands to beautify others. When the suggestion is considered to be *aṅgī* 'important', the figure of speech is always inferior in comparison with suggestion. No fool would say that ornaments are superior to the human being. While that is the case, what is the use of the employment of the word *saṃkarojjhita* in the

explanatory verse? When both the word and meaning are solely directed towards the implied meaning where is the chance for a figure to dominate the suggestion? Even if there is a figure of speech in between, it would only beautify that suggestion towards which the word and meaning are solely directed. In case of equal importance of both the expressed figure and the suggestion, it will be one of the varieties of the *guṇībhūtavyaṅgya*. Some may say that the significance of the term *saṃkarojjhitaḥ* may be best said in such cases where a kind of perplex condition persists. According to them that is a kind of perplexity as what is important either the figure of speech or the suggestion. To avoid such confusion Ānandavardhana might have used this word. For instance the examples of the *guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* may be taken. In this variety the artistic excellence of the expressed sense becomes greater than that of the suggested, while both happen to be side by side. Even in such cases, the minds of literary critics perceive what is beautiful, what is important, what is intended by the poet and so on and according to its position they will take it. There would not be any perplexity here. Still the aim of the good poets must be to see that no perplexity is experienced anywhere. This is a message given by Ānandavardhana to those who are beginners and also to those who are exceedingly fond of figures of speech. That is why *dhvanikāvya* is named *uttamakāvya* and *guṇībhūta* is named *madhyamakāvya*, the former is always preferred to the latter.

Ānandavardhana could as well do away with this term *saṃkarojjhita* because what he said about the

importance of suggestion is quite sufficient. The significance of this term, however, lies in giving emphasis on the making and appreciation of the *uttamakāvya* as the supreme, though the *guṇībhūtavyaṅgya* is also said as a type of poetry.

References

1. *Dhvanyāloka* with *Locana*, translated and commented with the name *Tārāvatī* by Ramasagar Tripathi. Motilal Banarsidass, Varanai, p. 256.

B.S.L. HANUMANTHA RAO

THE KĀLĀMUKHAS IN ĀNDHRADEŚA

Sectarianism is a natural development in any religion, and that is the result of certain historical forces. As one religion comes into contact with others and as religious and philosophical thought advances there araise differences in the methods attaining salvation. Gradually the differences crystallise into differenct sects. The number of sects in a religion may indicate its intellectual vitality.

Śaivism is an ancient religion in Andhra and sectarianism developed in it from about the eighth centuary A.D. The Malkāpuram inscription dated in A.D. 1261 mentions four important schools: Pāśupata, Kālānana, Śivaśāsana and Śaiva.[1] The Tripurāntakam record dated in A.D. 1290 notes a number of sects among the Āndhra Śaivites: Vīravrata, Māheśvara, Śaiva, Pāśupata, Mahāvrata, Kālāmukha, Yāmiḷa and Bhairava.[2] Besides, we come across in literature and Siddhas and Kāpālikas.[3]

However, the Kālāmukhas were the most popular and widespread in Andhra between the 9th and 12th centuries. The Kālāmukhas are an offshoot of the Pāśupata school which is taken to have been the earliest of the Śaivite

sects.[4] Lakulīśa or Nakulīśabhaṭṭāraka is held as its founder. His teachings formed into the Lakulīśvarāgama and it is the Bible of the Pāśupatas.

There is no unanimity on the date of Lakulīśvara. Several scholars prefer to place him in the first half of the 2nd c. A.D.[5] But attempts are being made to claim greater antiquity for the school.[6] At the time of Alexander's invasion (326 B.C.), according to the classical writers, there was a tribe called Sibeoi in Punjab who dressed themselves in animal skins and were equipped with clubs, the two striking features of the Pāśupatas. *Lakula* means club and in the iconographic representation, Lakulīśvara is shown holding a club. On the coins of the Kushan king, Vema Kadphisis (1st c. A.D.), a deity is represented with a club and some scholars are inclined to identify him with Lakulīśa. But he is more convincingly identified withViṣṇu, Gadādhara.[7] The VII R.E. of Aśoka Maurya mentions *babbanesu ajīvikeṣu* which means Brāhmanical Ājīvikas.[8] There were certain common practices between the Ājīvikas and Pāśupatas. Both smeared their bodies with ashes, sat painfully on heels, hung from trees like bats and reclined on thorns. Because of such close resemblance in the practices of the sects, Aśoka should have called the Pāśupatas as Brāhmanical Ājīvikas.[9] In the light of the above pieces of evidence, it is reasonable to conclude that Lakulīśvara who lives during 2nd c. A.D. collected the practices prevailing among the Śaivites, organised them into the intelligible system of Pāśupatas and gave them a Sacred Text. The relationship between Lakulīśa and the Pāśupata system is similar to the one between Mahāvīra and Jainism. The Pāśupata system was influenced not only by Ājīvikism but also by Jainism as we see later.

Lakulīśa had four disciples. One of them was Karuṣa or Kālānana and he was the originator of the Kālāmukha sect. The rise of the sect may approximately be placed in the later half of the 3rd c.A.D. Both the Pāśupatas and Kālāmukhas entered Āndhradeśa about the same time. The Ellora Plates of Cālukya Viṣṇuvardhana (A.D. 718-752) mentions to Śivācāryas; Vāmaśiva and Puruṣaśiva, the disciples of Brahmaśivācārya of Terambi, which was the principal seat of the Pāśupatas.[10] Evidently the two Śivācāryas were Pāśupatas and they decended into Andhra from Terambi.

The Tāḍikoṇḍa inscription of Ammarāja II (A.D.945-970) records the grant of three villages to god Umāmaheśvara in the temple of Samastabhuvanāśraya built by Vijayāditya II (A.D. 799-847).[11] The gift was placed in charge of Prabhūtarāśi, the pontiff of the Kālāmukha Śilāmaṭha at Vijayawada. According to the record Prabhūtarāśi was the tenth in lineage of Lakāśipu Pāśupati, the founder of the above Śilāmaṭha. Even on a moderate calculation, Lakāśipu should have founded the Maṭha at Vijayawada about A.D. 750. The record says that the Kālāmukhas had already established their Siṃhapariṣads at ancient (*purātana*) temples (*devāyatana*) like that of Amaravateśvara, identified with the present-day Amarāvati. By about the same time these two Śaivite sects appear in Karnataka is attested by the Paṭṭaḍakal inscription dated in A.D. 755,[12] and the Nandi Hill inscriptions of the years A.D.806 and 810.[13] Though in Karnataka, the Kālāmukhas are known as Pāśupatas, the Malkāpuram and Tripurāntakam records mention them separately.[14]

The information about the doctrines and rituals of the Kālāmukhas is so meagre that it is not easy to get a clear picture of the system. The inscriptions say that

the *Lakulīśvara-Āgama* is the text of the Kālāmukhas as well. The Kālāmukha *ācāryas* at times take the suffix Paśupati.[15] Rāmeśvarapaṇḍita, the head of the Śilāmaṭha at Srisailam is described as 'the master of the nector that is the essence of *Lakulīśvara-Āgama.*[16] Apparently therefore there was no difference between the Pāśupata and Kālāmukha systems.

On the other hand, Rāmānujācārya, the founder of the Viśiṣṭādvaita system of Vaiṣṇavism attributed the following six practices to the Kālāmukhas[17]: (i) eating food in a skull, (ii) besmearing the body with ashes, (iii) eating ashes, (iv) holding a club, (v) keeping a pot of wine, and (vi) worshipping the God as seated therein. In fact these practices are among those of the Kāpālikas but not of Kālāmukhas. R.G. Bhandarkar accepts the view of Rāmānuja probably because statements like *kālāmukha-mahāvratī* occur in inscription and Kāpālikas are known as *mahāvratīs*. The Kāpālika *mahāvrata* consists of the *pañca-makāras*: (1) *madya*, (2) *māṃsa*, (3) *matsya*, (4) *mudra* and (5) *maithuna*. They even indulged in human sacrifice with the aim of attaining the *aṣṭa-siddhis* and finally the supreme bliss in the embrace of a woman as beautiful as goddess Pārvatī. [19] Because of such gruesome and the abhorant practices, the Kāpālikas were detested by people and hence they could never become a force in social life. They always preferred inaccessable mountain and forest retreats. It may further be recalled that the Pāśupatas condemned even 'bloody' Vedic rituals and detested people who practised Tantras. They are votaries of *ahiṃsā*. K.A.N. Sastri rightly doubts whether the Kālāmukhas who were associated with famous temples and conducted worship in them ever indulged in such anti-social practices. [20] According to the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali, a *Mahāvrtī* was one who strictly adhered to *ahiṃsā*,

satya, asteya, brahmacarya, aparigraha which constitute *yama*.[21] It is rather interesting to note that the five principles that constitute *yama* of the Kālāmukhas are the same as the *pañca-yamas* of Jains.

It may be added that even the Pāśupata system was not altogether free from unsocial activities. The system is two - fold: (i) disciplinary and (ii) ritualistic. The former consits of *yama* and *niyama*. *Yama* consits of *ahiṃsā, satya, bahmacarya, asaṃvyavahāra* and *asteya*[22] whereas *niyama* is made up of *akrodha, guruśuśrūṣā, śauca, āhāralāghava* and *apramāda*. But their ritual which is made up of *upāhāra* and *dvāra* consists of several unsocial and meaningless practices verging on insanity. They are *krāṭhana* (snoring as if in sleep), *spandana* (shaking), *śṛṅgāraṇa* (making amorous gestures to ladies), *avitarkaraṇa* (thoughtless behaviour) and *avitadbhāṣaṇa* (foolish speech). By such mad behaviour, the Pāśupata tries to make himself disagreeable or even detestable, with a view to develop total detachment with the world so that the journey to the goal, *Śivasāyujya* would be cut short. Again this aspect of Pāśupata ritual seems to have been influenced by Jainism. The *Ācārāṅgasūtra* says that "a mendicant living thus, is self-controlled towards the eternal. The matchless sage, who collects his alms is insulted with words by the people - despised by such-like people the wise man with undisturbed mind sustains their words and blows as a rock is not shaken by the wind."[23] It is therefore reasonable to assume that the Kālāmukhas avoided the unsocial ritualistc aspects of the *Lakulīśvara-Āgama* and scrupulously adhered to the discipline of *yama* and *niyama* recommended by it, as attested by inscriptions. K.K. Handiqui is therefore right in saying that "These Kālāmukha Pāśupatas were not certainly identical with the Kālāmukhas mentiond by Yāmuna Muni and Rāmānuja in their enumeration of Śiva sects."[24] D.N. Lorenzen is more

outspoken when he remarks that "At the time of Yāmuna and Rāmānuja the Kālāmukhas were rapidly gaining popular or even royal support in South India. The two Vaiṣṇava priests may have purposely confused the two Śaivite sects in order to discredit their more important rivals".[25]

The Kālāmukhas played a significant role in the socio-religious life in Andhra between the 9th and 12th centuries. They are found widespread from Vemulavāḍa in Karimnagar Dt.[26] to Mahādevimaṅgaḷam in Chittoor Dt.[27] and Hemavati in Anantapur Dt.[28] By their scholarship and piety which involved strict adherence to *mahāvrata*, the Kālāmukha teachers could win the hearts of people. They became priests in temples. They chose the most ancient and frequented *kṣetras* such as Vemulavāḍa, Dākṣārāma, Amarāvati, Bejvāḍa, Cebrolu, Nadeṇḍla, Alampūr and Śrīśailam so that they could attract people and teach them their system. Śrīśailam appears to have become their principal centre where they received the patronage of Western Cālukayas - Someśwara I, Someśwara II and Somesvara III[29] and their feudotaries the Kākatīyas[30]. The Kālāmukhas of both Andhra and Karnataka claimed to have belonged to the lineage of Appa-parvatāvali.[31]

At most of their centres, the Kālāmukhas set up their *siṃhapariṣads* and *śaktipariṣads*. The former was popular in Andhra whereas the latter was predominant in Karnataka. The Vemulavāḍa inscriptions as well as an inscription from Maṭṭekote in Shimoga Dt., Karnataka[32] speak of a line of teachers known as Bhujaṅgāvaḷi. They appear to have descended from Bhujaṅgadevācārya of the *śaktipariṣad*, mentioned in a Bijapur inscription[33]. The Vemulavāḍarecord makes it clear that in Andhra there were both*siṃha* and *śakti pariṣads*. These *pariṣads* might

have corresponded to the *anubhavamaṇḍapa* of the Vīraśaivites and the *vidyāmaṇḍapa* of the Goḷakīs.

The Kālāmukhas rendered signal social service by establishing *maṭhas* and maintaining *sattras* where the poor and the needy found ready help. In recognition of their scholarship and service, the rulers raised the Kālāmuka *ācāryas* to the exalted position of *rājaguru*. Rameśvara-paṇḍita of Mallikārjuna-śilāmaṭha was the *rājaguru* of a succession of Kākatīya kings - Betarāja, Duggarāja and Prolarāja.[34] Jagaddeva of Paramāra (?) family was a disciple of Brahmeśvara-paṇḍita of the *siṃhapariṣat* at Vemulavāḍa.[35] The Kālāmukha system appears to have galvanised even social mobility. The Kākatīyas who were originally Jains entered the fold of Brahmanism through Kālāmukha Śaivism and gradually rose in social status approaching that of Kṣatriyas.[38] The Kriyāśaktis, the *kulagurus* of the Saṅgamas of Vijayanagara were also Kālāmukhas.

More important is the service of the Kālāmukhas to the cause of learning and education. The Śaivites started the practice of giving *dīkṣā* to their followers. The Pāśupata *dikṣā* is mentiond in the *Atharvaśiropaniṣat*.[37] The earliest epigraphical reference to *dīkṣā* comes from the Āmiḍelapāḍu record of Vikramāditya I (c. A.D. 650)[38], son and successor of Pulakesin II. The record says that Vikramāditya received *śivamaṇḍala-dīkṣā* from Sudarśanācārya and made a gift of a village to him. The Telugu poet Nannecoḍa of the 11th century referes to *dīkṣā*.[39] It seems *dīkṣā* among Śaivites corresponds to *upanayana* among the Brahmins, initiation into the practice of religious ritual as well as its doctrine. The *siṃhapariṣads* of the Kālāmukhas might have been the centres of religious discourses through which the initiated might

have been introduced to the texts, thus opening the flood-gates of religious knowledge before them.

Every Kālāmukha centre appears to have been a big seat of learning. Several inscriptions of the period record gifts for education *(vidyādāna)*[40], and for feeding students and their teachers. Inscriptional evidence speaks of a Brahmapuri at Alampūr[41]. Generally *brahmapuris* develop as appendices to *agrahāras* or brahmadeyas[42] and it is defined as a group of Brahmin families, each specialising in a particular branch of learning - Tarka, Vyākaraṇa, Jyotiṣa, Mīmāṃsā, etc. Another inscription of Alampūr refers to a *ghaḍaśāsi (ghaḷaśāsi)*[43] which means the head of a *ghaṭikā*. It is therefore clear that the Brahmapuri of Alampūr was actually a *ghaṭikā*. At many other places like Chilkur[44], Kollipaka[45], Sanigaram[46] and Vemulavada[47] also the Kālāmukhas maintained schools. Of all the Kālāmukha seats of learning, Perūr appears to have been the bigest[48], run on the lines of Koḍiya Maṭha in Karnataka.[49] In the Perūr Ghaṭikā, headed by a *ghaṭaśāsi* there were 19 *upādhyāyas*, 7 *ṣaḍaṅgavids*, 2 *paṇḍits* and 1 astrologer. Perūr appears to have been managed by the *kriyāśakti-ācāryas*. The inscription further says that in the year A.D.1119, all the people of Perūr gathered and agreed to contribute one *hanna (herjunka)* for every child in the village to Kuppanabhaṭṭopādhyāya who was probably in charge of the management of the *ghaṭikā*. The inscription is a proof of the interest in education shown by the people of all sections in society. Inscriptions from Telangana mention several other *brahmapuris*.

In the ghaṭikās instruction was generally given in all the fourteen *vidyās (caturdaśa)*, which included Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Mīmāṃsā, Nyāya, Dharmaśāstra and Purāṇa. At times theee *vidyās* included secular subjects like

Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Arthaśāstra and Gāndharva. It appears that the schools of the Kālāmukhas admitted students of all castes and gave instruction in the subjects they chose. From about the 10th c. A.D., members of the fourth caste are found occupying high positions not only in the army but also at the court. Most of the officers at the court of the Durjayas of Velanāḍu were of the Śūdra caste including the Boyas.[52] Even the Kākatīya court was dominated by the Velamas and Reḍḍis. The number of Brahmins that occupied high positions at Warangal throughout the period is very insignificant. On the other hand, the members of the fourth caste proved the mainstay of the administrative machinery and military system of the Kākatīya kingdom. It is but reasonable to assume that the Śūdras should have received training in state craft and military science in the educational institutions that sprang up all over Andhra.

Even creative scholarship was not limited to the upper castes. Someśvara III[53] and Rudradeva[54] were writers of great distinction. Baddena[55] a feudatory of the Kākatīyas was the author on polity and ethics. Jāyapa, the *gajasāhinī* of Gaṇapatideva, composed *Nṛttaratnāvalī* in Sanskrit. Poets appeared in the vernaculars and their number steadily increased. Nannecoḍa was the author of the *Kumārasambhavamu* in Telugu and Buddhāreḍḍi composed *Raṅganātha-Rāmāyaṇamu* in *deśi* metre - *dvipada*- to mention a few. One interesting point about these two works is that they were almost independent works, not being translations of Sanskrit originals. A certain Bhīmaya Paṇḍaya claims to have composed in both *mārga* and *deśi* metres with great felicity. General literacy thus made progress because of the cosmopolitan spirit of the Kālāmukhas displayed through the network of *ghaṭikās*, *brahmapuris* and *siṃhapariṣads*.

After the fall of the Later Calukyas, the Kālāmukhas gradually lost their influence. About the same time, the Kākatīyas rose to sovereign authority and showed preference to pro-Brahmanical systems. In Karnataka most of the Kālāmukha Maṭhas were taken over by the Vīraśaivas and under the liberal patronage of Gaṇapatideva, the Goḷakī Maṭha had spread its branches all over Andhra.[58]

K.A.N. Sastri and N. Venkataramanayya[59] are of the view that the Kālāmukhas and Vīraśaivas were very powerful in the Deccan at the time of Turkish invasions from Delhi. They argue that the religious fervour the above religions could infuse, the people of Deccan could beat back the Muslims and regain freedom. But the views of the learned professors are not borne out by the actual situation in the land. None of the leaders of the 'freedom movement' was either a Vīraśaiva or a Kālāmukha. The *kriyāśaktis* were no doubt became the *kulagurus* of the Saṅgamas but the role of the former in founding Vijayanagara is not known. Most of the leaders of the times favoured less militant and more compromising pro-Brahmanical systems of *Smārta* or *Ārādhya* or *Goḷakī*.[60]

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24. *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, Sholapur, 1949, p.350.
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28. No.12 of AR. for 1917.
29. In his *Vikramābhyudayam* Someśvara III gives a beautiful description of Srisailam.
30. IAP., Warangal Dt., no. 35.
31. EI. V, nos. A and B.
32. EC. VII, Sk. p. 292.
33. IA.X.pp.126-132.
34. IAP., Warangal Dt., nos. 15 and 36.
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These changes seem to represent different stages in their political career.

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38. Tel. Ins., II, nos. 2 & 5.
39. He says that Pārvatī took *dīkṣā* according to *Śaivāgama*, *Kumārasambhavamu*, vi. 81.
40. Kollipaka Ins., Corp. Tel, Ins., no.11; Vemulavada Ins., Ibid, no.18; Alampur Ins., Tel. Ins., II, no. 26.
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53. Someśvara was the author of the *Mānasollāsa* and *Vikramābhyudaya*.
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K.P. SINHA

MATTER AS A FORM OF CONSCIOUSNESS

Matter is generally regarded as diametrically opposed to consciousness. In India also this idea is found to exist in a few systems of thought. In some schools of Indian philosophy, on the other hand, matter is regarded as an evolute of energy, and in some others, as an evolute of consciousness. For the convenience of our discussion, let us have a bird's eye view of the Indian theories of matter, which may broadly be brought under seven classes as follows:

1. According to the Cārvākas, matter alone is the ultimate reality forming the foundation of all the objects of the world. The world is composed of four kinds of gross material elements, namely, earth, water, fire and air.[1] All the non-living or material objects and the living organisms like plants and animal bodies are nothing but different collocations of these four kinds of elements. Even consciousness found in the living beings is regarded by these thinkers as a by-product of matter and as a quality of the body.[2]

2. (a) According to the Jainas, matter or *pudgala* is an unconscious but ever-active reality. All the non-living

things and the animal bodies are formed of *aṇus*, the smallest and indivisible particles of *pudgala* which are quite distinct from the *jīva*, the conscious principle.[3] There are some thinkers among the Jainas, who hold that every particle of the so-called matter is conscious.[4] This does not, however, mean that matter is essentialy of the nature of consciousness; it only means that material particles are endowed with consciousness. The difference between matter and consciousness is, therefore, not denied by these thinkers also.

(b) According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas, matter is completely devoid of consciousness and is quite distinct from the conscious principles God and the individual selves. Four kinds of *paramāṇus*, the minutest particles of matter, namely, earth, water, fire and air are said to form the vast material world by their mutual conjunction. In dissolution, they are separated from one another and exist in eternal space and time.[5] These particles, being the ultimate realities of the material world, do not merge into any higher reality. It is, however, held that these material elements cannot work by themselves; they work only because God activises and regulates them in accordance with the *adṛṣṭas* of the *jīvas*.[6] The Mīmāṃsakas also hold that the material world is composed of *paramāṇus* or the minutest particles of earth, water, fire and air, which are non-conscious in nature and are distinct from the conscious self.[7]

3. The Sāṃkhya-Yoga system derives all the reals except *puruṣa* or the self from *prakṛti* - an eternal, all-pervading, non-conscious and eternally active principle. In this view, *paramāṇus* or atoms are not the ultimate realities of the gross world, since they are produced from *prakṛti* only at a later stage of evolution.[8] *Prakṛti*,

the ultimate stuff of the material world, being non-conscious, is quite distinct from the *puruṣa* which is conscious.[9] But yet *prakṛti* is related to the *puruṣas* in such a way that each step of its evolution is in exact harmony with the acts of the *puruṣas*.[10] Vijñāna Bhikṣu, however, holds that the harmony between the *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* is maintanied by Īśvara. The Mādhva Vaiṣṇavas and the Pāśupata Śaivas also derive the material world from *prakṛti* accepted as a non-conscious reality quite distinct from both the knowing self and Brahman which are of the nature of consciousness. *Prakṛti* accepted in these systems, however, acts under the full control of Īśvara,[11] as held in the philosophy of Bhikṣu.

4. The Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas have erected a materialistic system of their own, in which atoms have been regarded as the ultimate elements of the material world.[12] The atoms accepted here are, however, not eternal but subject to incessant change. That means, the world is here regarded as an aggregate of innumerable non-eternal or everchanging atoms. Further, according to these thinkers, reality is nothing over and above the bare fact of 'efficiency' which is but another name of energy. Efficiency or energy is the reality; the thing that is revealed to us is a construction of our thought. What we call fire is simply caloric energy; its shape, extension, etc. are our imaginations.[13]

5. Among the Vaiṣṇava Vedāntins, the Nimbārkists hold that matter is an evolute of *prakṛti* which, on its part, is an attribute or potency of Brahman and is, for that reason, non-different from Brahman. Accordingly, matter is also non-different from Brahman,[14] the former being simply a lower form or manifestation of the power of the latter. The Rāmānujists regard matter as the *prakāra* or attribute,

aṃśa or part, and *śarīra* or body of Brahman. Matter in their view is inseperably related to Brahman both in the causal state and the effect state i.e. both in dissolution and in creation.[15] According to the Caitanyites, the material world is created out of the real and eternal power of Brahman called *bahiraṅga-śakti* or *māyā-śakti* which is insentient in nature.[16] This power resides in the being of Brahman and is neither different from nor identical with it. To the Vallabhites, it is Brahman of the nature of *sac-cid-ānanda* or existence-knowledge-bliss that takes the form of matter. In matter, however, only the aspect of *sat* or existence is manifested, while the aspects of *cit* or knowledge and *ānanda* or bliss are concealed. Matter being thus a manifestation of *sat*, an essential aspect of Brahman. Brahman is said to be existing in its fullness in all the objects of the world.[17] Accordingly, what we call matter is, in reality, not matter; it is nothing but Brahman with some of its aspects concealed. A proper analysis of Vallabha's theory, however, shows that the world is a modification not of Brahman as it is, but of its non-conscious power. For it is said that from the *sat*-aspect of Brahman arises *prakṛti* which is subsequently transformed into the world. According to Bhāskara also, the world is a modification of Brahman or, strictly speaking, of the 'enjoyable' or non-conscious power of Brahman: it is the non-conscious power of Brahman that transforms itself into the material world by assuming some conditions or limitations.[18] Thus, according to these views, matter is a form of the non-conscious power of Brahman.

6. Among the Śaivites, the Śaiva-Siddhāntins hold that matter is a modification of Śiva's unconscious power called *māyā*.[19] Śrīkaṇṭha, the Pratyabhijñā-Śaivites and the Vīra-Śaivites hold that it is Brahman or Śiva that has assumed the form of the material world with the help of

his non-conscious power *māyā*. In the view of all these thinkers, however, *māyā* is simply a lower phase of the conscious power of Brahman or Śiva, which, on its part, is identical with Brahman or Śiva. In the ultimate analysis, therefore, matter has its origin in Brahman of the nature of consciousness and, hence, is identical with Brahman and is of the nature of consciousness.[20] According to Śaktism also, matter is merely a modification of *prakṛti*, which on its part is a modification of Śakti or the Divine Mother of the nature of existence, knowledge and bliss.[21] Accordingly, what we call matter is, in reality, of the nature of consciousness.

7. The Advaita-Vedāntins hold that the material world has no ultimate reality; it is merely an appearance consisting only of names and forms created by *ajñāna* or nescience and super-imposed on Brahman, the Absolute. To one who has acquired the knowledge of Brahman, the world does not exist, since at that plane, only the non-dual Brahman is found to shine forth everywhere.[22] This means that though the world we perceive is false, in essence it is identical with Brahman of the nature of consciousness. Among the Buddhists, the Yogācāras totally deny the reality of the material world. In their view, *vijñāna* or consciousness is the only reality, which manifests itself as matter because of the ignorance of the perceiver.[23] Some of these thinkers say that this world is a creation of our individual *vijñānas*, while others hold that it is an objective manifestation of the Absolute *vijñāna*, the individual *vijñānas* being the subjective manifestations of the same.[24] The Mādhyamikas also totally deny the reality of the material world and hold that what we call matter is only an imagination caused by ignorance. Nāgārjuna denies the transcendental reality of the world and establishes the existence of Nirvāṇa everywhere. He says

that the world we perceive is a creation of ignorance, while, in reality, there is not the least difference between the world and Nirvāṇa.[25]

Now, the view of the Cārvākas that non-conscious matter is the only reality and that consciousness is a byproduct of matter is totally untenable. Granting that consciousness comes out of matter, we may ask: how could consciousness come out of matter if the former were not there in some form or other in the latter? Nothing can come from the vacuum. The contention that at a certain stage of evolution consciousness is produced from matter presupposes that consciousness exists in the causal stuff or matter in an unmanifested form. It is argued that just as the red colour - a completely new element - is produced when betel-nut, betel-leaf, lime, etc. are chewed together, so consciousness is produced from the admixture of material element. But the red colour cannot be regarded as a completely new element; it must be said to be existing in the said elements in some form or other. If not, why does not a blue colour come out of those elements? In a like manner, if consciousness is said to be coming out of matter, it must be accepted that the former exists in the latter in an unmanifested form. Further, if consciousness be an evolved stage of matter, can we not regard matter as an involved stage of consciousness? That a seed evolves into a tree means that the tree is involved in the seed. Likewise, if matter evolves into consciousness, the latter must be said to be involved into the former. In the words of Sri Aurobindo, "For there seems to be no reason why life should evolve out of material elements or Mind out of living form, unless we accept the Vedāntic solution that life is already involved in matter and mind in life because in essence Matter is a form of veiled life, life a form of veiled consciousness".[26]

The view of the Jainas that the material world works by itself without the guidance of any conscious principle is untenable, as it is not possible for the non-conscious matter to maintain the strict order and harmony of nature, without the guidance of some conscious principle. The view of the Naiyāyikas that matter is controlled and regulated by Īśvara, a quite distinct principle, is also unacceptable. For there is no reason why matter, a distinct reality, should act in concert with the will of Īśvara. If matter is to act in accordance with the will of Īśvara, it will have to be accepted that matter and Īśvara are synthesised at a higher plane of existence.

Though in Sāṃkhya-Yoga *prakṛti* is said to be material or non-conscious in nature, it is not matter in the sense of the materialists and the Naiyāyikas. Atoms or the ultimate particles forming the five kinds of great material elements or *mahābhūtas* are produced, according to Sāṃkhya-Yoga, from *prakṛti* at a much later stage of its evolution. This means that *prakṛti* is much finer than gross matter and the material atoms. And a proper analysis of the concept of *prakṛti* will reveal that it is nothing but energy, its three *guṇas* of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas* being but three ways of the functioning energy: *sattva* is the power of illumination; *rajas* is the power of activisation; and *tamas* is the power of rendering things passive. Though *prakṛti* is, thus, in essence energy, it is called *jaḍa* only in the sense that it is non-conscious.

Now, though non-conscious, *prakṛti* is said to be working in full concert with the acts and needs of the *puruṣas* or the conscious selves, as a result of which the selves get the proper fruits of their own actions in the form of enjoyment and liberation. But the problem is: if *prakṛti* and the *puruṣas* are quite distinct from each other,

why should the former be so loyal to the latter and work to serve their interests? Again, how can the non-conscious *prakṛti* adjust itself to the needs of the *puruṣas*? If *prakṛti* and the *puruṣas* be completely distinct from each other, both will try to maintain their identity, and there will be no possibility of one's being subservient to the other. If, therefore, we are to account for the harmony between *prakṛti* and the *puruṣas*, we shall have to maintain that these two are synthesised at a higher plane of reality.

The view of Vijñāna Bhikṣu that both the *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* are controlled and harmonised by God does not improve the pisition at all. For here also the same problem arises; if the non-conscious *prakṛti* be quite distinct in nature from God, the Consciousness, why should the former act according to the will of the latter? Hence, if we are to account for the servitude of *prakṛti* to the will of God, we must hold that at a higher plane of existence, *prakṛti* is not different from the being of God.

The view of the Vaibhāṣikas and Sautrāntikas that material objects are but collocations of ever-changing atoms and that they are nothing but forms of energy comes very close to the theory of Sāṃkhya-Yoga and suffers from the defects of the latter. That is to say, in the absence of some guiding conscious principle, these atoms or units of energy cannot work by themselves and bring forth the harmonious multiple world of our experience. The view of the Vaiṣṇava-Vedāntins that *prakṛti*, the source of the material world, is a quality or potency of Īśvara and that it is in a relation of difference-cum-non-difference with him cannot satisfy us. If a quality or potency is to work in concert with the will of Īśvara, the Consciousness, it must be non-different from his at a higher

plane of reality. In our view, a quality or potency is an outer manifestation of the substance, while at bottom these two are identical.[27] And if the non-conscious quality is to be identical with Brahman of the nature of consciousness, then it will have to transcend its non-sentiency. That means, the non-conscious energy or *prakṛti* must first reveal itself as conscious energy and then it will have to dissolve itself into the bosom of the Consciousness.

Here comes the Śaiva-Sākta philosophy which clearly says that the non-conscious power of *prakṛti* or *māyā* is but a phase of Sakti or conscious energy which on its part is identical with the Consciousness - Śiva or Brahman. This is the culmination of the Indian thought on the origin of matter. All the other theories mentioned above are but different stages in the series of evolution propagated in the Śaiva-Sākta philosophy.

We may thus summarise that what we call matter is an evolute or *prakṛti* or non-conscious energy; what we call non-conscious energy is but a phase of the conscious energy; what we call conscious energy is but a quality or potency of Brahman, the Consciousness; and what we call the quality or potency of Brahman is identical with Brahman. This means that matter is at bottom identical with Brahman or the Consciousness. What we mean to say is that in the process of evolution, the ultimate or universal consciousness reveals itself as the conscious energy; the conscious energy reappears as the non-conscious energy; the non-conscious energy transforms itself into the material atoms at a lower stage of evolution; and the material atoms in thier turn evolve into the material bodies at a still lower stage of evolution. Accordingly the non-conscious energy and matter are nothing but lower levels of consciousness: they are also

conscious, though consciousness in them is not manifest.

In this connection, a question may be raised: why should matter be regarded as devoid of consciousness? It is seen that material bodies and atoms work in a particular and well-regulated way; fire always burns, a hard body resists, a heavy thing falls down, an elastic thing is subject to contraction and expansion, and so on. The regularity of the action or behaviour of atoms is well known to modern science. Here our problem is: why do the material bodies and atoms behave in such a regular way? The materialists try to solve the position by holding that these material things are endowed with certain definite qualities and capabilities. But the point is: if matter were totally blind or non-conscious, how could it follow a particular course of life and react when some opposite force stands in the way of its functioning? Some are of the opinion that the world has a teleology or purpose behind it, i.e., all its acts are directed towards some end. But this position will not solve the problem in question, since teleology or purpose presupposes the working of some consciousness from behind, though the consciousness might not be clearly manifested. The body of a person falling senseless may move, act and react, but the person is not aware of these actions, as it is proved by the fact that he does not remember them when he comes to the senses. But it must be accepted that the senseless body acts, because it is informed by the consciousness, though that consciousness is not fully manifest. In the same way, it may be said that the so called material bodies act in a well-calculated way, as they are informed by the consciousness, though the consciousness in them is not manifest.

By 'consciousness', however, we mean not the 'thinking process' which is a developed stage of the consciousness, but 'the tendency to work in a regular way'. Consciousness has different levels, of which that manifested in the so-called material objects is the lowest one. In these material bodies, the consciousness simply 'exists' and acts mechanically; it is devoid of the process of thinking. From matter arises life through the process of evolution. At a higher level of life, mind develops, and in a still higher level of life the capability of thinking arises. In the human stage, this thinking process develops to such an extent that it tries to transcend the limitations imposed by the mind-body. Accordingly, a conflict arises between the physical elements and the thinking being: the physical elements try to work mechanically, while the thinking being tries to control them according to its sweet will. And ultimately man succeeds to transcend the limitations of the mind-body and rises to the level of realisation where the self functions by itself.

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8. cf. *Sāṃkhya-kārikā,* 22.

9. See *Sāṃkhya-tattva-kaumudī,* 10-1.

10. *karma-vaicitryāt sṛṣṭi-vaicitryam, Sāṃkhya-sūtra,* 6. 41; see also *Aniruddha-vṛtti* on ibid 3.62.

11. *prakṛti-puruṣa-saṃyogaḥ īśvareṇa kriyate, Vijñānāmṛta-bhāṣya,* 1.1.2; *nirvikārasya jagan-nimitta-laya asmābhiḥ īśvaratvena . . . . aṅgīkārāt, Nyāya-śudha; krīḍāvān eva sa bhagavān vidyā-kāla-paśu-saṃjñākam trividham api kāryam utpādayan anugṛhṇāti, Pañcārtha-bhāṣya,* 2.2.

12. *sarva-sūkṣmo hi rūpa-saṃghātaḥ paramāṇur ity ucyate, Sphuṭārtha* on *Abhidharama-kośa,* II.22.

13. *auṣṇyam evāgniḥ,* quoted by Stcherbatsky in *Bhiddhist Logic,* p.190.

14. See *Vedānta-kaustubha,* I. 4.9-10.

15. *sthūla-sūkṣma-cid-acit-prakāram brahma,* Rāmānuja's com. on *Brahma-sūtra,* 1.1.1.

16. *māyā-kāryaṃ jagat, Paramātma-sandarbha* (Jadavpur University, 1972), p. 40.

17. *sad-aṃśena jaḍā api, Tattvārtha-dīpa-nibandha,* 1.28; *brahmāpi kārya-samaye svayam eva sarvaṃ bhavati,* Vallabha's com. on *Brahma-sūtra,* 2.1.24.

18. *brahmaiva hi kāraṇātmanā kāryātmanāvasthitam,* Bhāskara's com. on *Brahma-sūtra,* 1.1.4.

19. *avyaktaṃ māyato guṇa-tattvam . . . . pañca-bhūtāni, Tattva-prakāśa,* 23.

20. *brahmaṇaḥ jagat-pariṇāmaḥ yuktaḥ eva,* Śrīkaṇṭha's com. on *Brahma-sūtra,* 2.1.27; *kārya-kāraṇobhayāvasthitaṃ brahmā,* ibid, 1.3.32.

21. *sā paramā śaktiḥ svecchayā viśva-rūpiṇi, Yoginī-hṛdaya,* 1.9.

22. . . . . . *samastasya prācīnasya bheda-vyavahārasya bādhitatvāt,* Śaṅkara's com. on *Brahma-sūtra,* 2.1.14.

23. *vijñapti-mātram evaitat, Viṃśatikā,* 1; *vijñāna-pariṇāmo 'sau pariṇāmaḥ, Triṃśikā,* 1.

24. *yad antar jñeya-tattvaṃ tad bahirvad avabhāsate, Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha,* Ch. II; *nityaḥ dhruvaḥ śivaḥ śāsvataś ca bhagavatā varṇitaḥ, Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra,* 2.136.

25. *na saṃsārasya nirvāṇāt kiñcid asti viśeṣaṇam. na nirvāṇasya saṃsārāt kiñcid asti viśeṣaṇam, Mādhyamaka-kārikā,* 25.19.

26. *The Life Divine,* vol I, p.3.
27. See K.P. Sinha, *Reflexions on Indian Philosophy,* pp.101-123.

M.C. CHOUDHURY

MANUSCRIPTS AND MANUSCRIPTOLOGY IN RELATION TO INDIAN HISTORY

Manuscripts are, unquestionably, invaluable sources for the reconstruction of the history and culture of any land. Etymologically, the word *manuscript* is derived from the Latin word *manus*, meaning 'hand' and *scriptum*, meaning 'thing written'.[1] According to the *Oxford Dictionary*, Old English has a verb *manuscribe* to denote 'writing with one's (own) hand as opposed to printing'.[2]

Manuscriptology is evidently the science of manuscripts, the suffix *-logy* being derived from the Greek *logos*, meaning 'science', 'doctrine' or 'theory'.[3] But manuscriptology is not only a science, it is also an art as will be presently explained. In fact, it is a comprehensive term and includes everything related to a systematic scientific study of manuscripts, e.g., their collection, collation, critical and comparative editing by going through the variant readings (*pāṭhāntara/pāṭhabheda*), subjectwise classification, conservation and chemical treatment, purging off of the interpolations, rectification of errors (grammatical, metrical, etc.), tracing the missing portions or changes caused intentionally or inadvertently,

deciphering the alphabets properly, understanding and explaining the abbreviations and symbols used therein, ascertaining the purpose of writing (whether for presentation to, or patronage of, kings and the like; or for the continuance of knowledge), establishing the chronology or date of composition of the original work and of the copyist (by means of evolution of alphabets, linguistic developments, literary style and quotations from the earlier or contemporary authors cited in the text concerned), and many other minor accessory works for a judicious utilisation of the same. The task is stupendous and exceedingly painstaking, but immensely useful for unravelling the multifarious aspects of any culture or civilisation, as literature is axiomatically known as the mirror of society.

Now, the various sources for the reconstruction of India's past are broadly divided into two conventional categories, viz. literary and archaeological. Manuscripts, strangely enough, form a sort of link between the two, being semi-literary and semi-archaeological in nature. Of course, under literary sources are considered those indigenous and foreign texts (related to India) that are preserved in the form of the vast *Veda-Brāhmaṇa* literature, the Epics and the *Purāṇas*; the *Smṛtis* and the *Arthaśāstra*; the secular and religious texts like Bhāsa's or Kālidāsa's dramas or the *Tantras*; the Greek accounts of Herodotos, Megasthenes and others; the Chinese and Tibetan accounts of Fahien, Hiuen Tsang, I-Tsing, Dharmasvāmin, Tārānatha, etc.; the technical literature like Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the *Suśruta-saṃhitā, Aśvāyurveda* or the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*; the purely historical literature such as *Harṣacarita* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, as well as the Pali and Prakrita texts like the Cylonese *Dīpavaṃśa* and the

Mahāvaṃśa or the Buddhist *Nikāyas* and the *Avadāna* literature; as also the Arabic and Persian chronicles like Sulaiman's *Silsilāt-ut-Tawārīkh*, Al-Masudi's *Muruj-ul-Zahab*, Al-Bilādurī's *Futuh-ul-Buldān*, Al-Bīrūnī's *Tārikh-ul-Hind*, and hundreds of other similar texts pertaining to political, religio-philosophical and technical literature. It should be borne in mind that all these works had been extant in the form of MSS in India and have gradually seen the light of day only after the assiduous labour of scholars to discover them and print their critical editions in order to understand our glorious achievements in the past as well as our failures and shortcomings in a correct perspective, as 'history' has many lessons to teach us, and is "an unending dialogue between the present and the past".[4] And it is here that manuscriptology assumes its supreme importance.

But manuscriptology, technically speaking, is really a branch of palaeography which comes under archaeological sources, and is a science concerned with all sorts of ancient writings - deciphered or as yet undecipherable. Palaeography, in its widest sense, may be described as a study and analysis of ancient writing "with the primary objects of deciphering and reading the writings themselves and of distinguishing and describing the various styles, their relation to one another and the general principles of development. Closely connected with these is its secondary object of providing criteria of the date and authenticity of manuscripts, whether literary works (in the ancient world always and in the mediaeval world often these were undated) or documents such as edicts, bulls, characters, letters, etc."[5]

Thus palaeography has within its purview writings on materials of all conceivable kinds. But in its restricted

sense, it "denotes only the study of writing or such destructible materials as papyrus, wax, parchment and vellum, and paper."[6] A related science, epigraphy, is confined to the study of inscriptions, ostraca (i.e., potsherds or clay tiles or tablets) or metal - in other words, on what could normally be considered as imperishable materials.

The art of penmanship and calligraphy in ancient and mediaeval times reached a very high standard and gave rise to special classes of people like *lekhakas, kāyasthas, pāṭhakas,* etc., who copied thousands of MSS. These have been classified by scholars as *majuscule* (those written in large letters) or *minuscule* (those in small letters), written by hand with quill pens, stylus (*śalāka*), or the like, the ink used being "soot, lampblack, burnt ivory, pulverized charcoal, etc."[7] The earliest known dates of such writings go back to the 4th millennium B.C. in Sumeria and Mesopotamia.

Thus MSS are documents containing matter transcribed by hand with a brush, pen, etc., on some perishable material such as leather, waxed tablets, wooden planks, birch-bark or palm-leaves, cotton or silken cloth, etc. Some have come down to us in the form of a "roll (*volumen*) or in a book form (*codex*). They may be either autograph, in the handwriting of the author, or apograph, as transcript by a scribe."[8]

There is also another very important class of MSS. called illuminated MSS. wherein, as David M. Robb says, "a text is embellished or decorated with designs executed in colours, gold and occasionally silver that may take the form of elaborated initials, illustrations pertinent to the subject-matter of the text, or may even be simply an opulent writing in gold or silver on tinted pages of parchment". He further explains that illumination "causes the volume

so treated to be resplendent, suggesting its value as a means of recording and communicating ideas". When the spiritual texts were "believed implicitly as divinely inspired, no means could be spared to indicate their supernatural character"[9] An illuminated MS. is indeed the largest single body of early mediaeval and mediaeval painting in India.

Although the oldest of such MSS. could be traced as far back as the second millennium B.C. (the illustrated *Book of the Dead* in the dynastic Egypt)[10] the earliest specimens in India are found from the Eastern zone, ranging approximately from the beginning of the eleventh century to the end of the twelfth - in other words, the Pala-culture period- whereafter the tradition seems to have travelled over to W. India where we come across illuminated palm-leaf MSS. from A.D. 1100 to 1350, which were subsequently replaced by paper-books. Under the patronage of the Pala kings of Bengal and Bihar like Mahīpāla, Rāmapāla, Nayapāla, Govindapāla, etc., or under the Varman kings like Harivarman, we find dozens of illustrated MSS. of Mahāyāna Buddhist texts like the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā - Prajñāpāramitā, Pañcarakṣā, Kāraṇḍavyūha*, etc., all duly dated in the regnal years of the reigning kings (*vijaya - rājya - saṃvatsara*) or even after their reigns (*atīta-rājya* or *vigata-rājya*).[11]

The MSS paintings, iconographically, are related to the Vajrayāna - Tantrayāna pantheon and various gods and goddesses, such as Tārā, Lokanātha, Mahākāla, Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Maitreya, Vajrapāṇi, etc., are represented in accordance with their *dhyānas* in the *sādhanamālā* texts, sometimes depicting the full *maṇḍala* of the main divinities, in more than half a dozen bright colours like "orpiment, yellow, white, indigo-blue, Indian ink-black, cinnabar red and green."[12] N.R. Ray has shown

that "these miniatures do not represent a separate style of book-illustration; they are in fact mural paintings in reduced dimension."[13]

Again, the Islamic MSS of the *Qur'ān* and other texts in Arabic and Persian, available in India from the fourteenth century onwards, are known for their exquisite beauty both from the pictorial and calligraphic points of view, but with the vital difference that although they were richly embellished, they were never illustrated by figures of men or animals, as the idea goes against the fundamental tenets of Islam. Historically speaking, all such illuminated MSS., also known as miniature paintings, are very important for the study of any contemporary art-traditions and iconography showing mainly the prevalent religious beliefs and practices, as the dictum 'art for art's sake' was (with the exception of terracottas and the like) never followed in India. Moreover, while the ordinary MSS have mostly been soiled, damaged or destroyed by the damp, warm tropical climate and various parasitic infections (not to talk of Islamic vandalism), the illuminated ones are the best preserved, because of the great care bestowed on them, their minimum exposure to light, and relatively limited use.[14]

In order to make a really meaningful appreciation of the merit and authenticity of a manuscript, proficiency in many other branches of learning is essential, such as the knowledge of the relevant alphabets (*Tamiḷa-lipi, Grantha-lipi, Śāradā-lipi, Kuṭila-lipi,* etc.); and an adequate knowledge of the concerned language and its linguistics because of the lack of punctuation in the ancient and mediaeval MSS and their continuous pattern of writing with a uniform gap in between each alphabet (from which the correct formation of the word intended is

frequently very difficult, hence often tentative). One should also have a mastery over the subject-matter to be handled (which may be anything from *Kāvya-Vyākaraṇa* to *Āyurveda-Jyotiṣa*, or *Dharmaśāstra-Arthaśāstra* to *Gandharvaveda-Mānasāra-Rūpamaṇḍana*, or *Kṣatravidyā* to *Brahmavidyā*), besides a thorough grasp of research methodology, historiography and textual criticism.

The search for MSS. again could be at personal, institutional or national levels. In the first category could be placed those that were collected by Rajendralal Mitra, Haraprasad Sastri, Colonel Tod, Rahul Sankrityayana, Raghu Vira, Bendall, Aurel Stein, Grierson, R.G. Bhandarkar, T. Ganapati Sastri, Barthwal, Elliot and Dowson, and a host of other brilliant and dedicated scholars. In the second category are those preserved, for example, in the K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna; V.V.R.I., Hoshiarpur; Kasi Nagari Pracharini Sabha; Sarasvati Bhavana Library, Varanasi; B.O.R.I., Poona; the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta; the Adyar Library, Madras; Raza Library, Rampur; Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna; Raghuvir Singh Library, Sitamau; the different university libraries; the libraries of Rajasthan and Gujarat like those at Undaipur, Jaipur, Ajmer, Alwar, Tonk, etc.; the Asiatic Society Library at Calcutta; besides the various state, provincial or university museums, e.g., the Indian Museum, Calcutta; the Bharata Kala Bhavana, B.H.U.; the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay; the Salar Jang Museum, Hyderabad; the museums at Lucknow and Chandigarh and many others of their kind. The last, but not the least, are our national attempts in this direction by the establishment of the National Museum, Delhi and our National Archives. As Bordin and Warner have said, "One of the most important types of manuscript repository is the official archive which preserves the records of federal,

state or local government bodies." These paper MSS undoubtedly will have increasing importance in the course of time.

So far as editing the MSS is concerned, laudable attempts have been made by ingenious talents like Edgerton at the reconstruction of the *Pañcatantra*, by Sukthankar to prepare a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, by Ludwig Sternbach in regard to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, etc. But many times more than what little has been achieved in this direction still await the attention of scholars for escaping oblivion. Descriptive catalogues or critical bio-bibliographical survey of extant MSS for the reconstruction of the ancient, mediaeval and Mughal periods are remarkable attempts in themselves, but are not being followed up, to the desired extent. Even the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (in imitation of Theodore Aufrecht's original work), under the able editorship of V. Raghavan and K. Kunjunni Raja seems to be slackening. In order to give a fillip to such important braches of study, therefore, it requires a dedicated team of researchers so that they could gear up their energies for exploring our past in the most satisfactory manner. There is no doubt that great care was always taken by the scribe while copying manuscripts, putting in days or even months of hard labour on it. This is clear from many such appeals found in them as:

bhagna-pṛṣṭha-kaṭi-grīvaḥ stabdha-dṛṣṭir adhomukhaḥ /
kaṣṭena likhitaṃ granthaṃ yatnena paripālayet //

with a request to protect them from oil, water or the undeserving (*mūrkhahaste na dātavyam*, etc.).[15]

MSS. are supremely important for historians as with linguists and litterateurs. Thousands of MSS. await the attention of scholars in Indian and foreign libraries

and museums. They form the basic source-material for the study of different periods of Indian history. An amalgam of epigraphy and literature, as the MSS are, they undoubtedly present a great difficulty to scholars trying to handle them, but the labour is more than amply rewarded. Scholars working in diverse fields of Indian history are, more often than not, faced with the frightening task of going through the MSS. pertaining to their individual topic. As said above, to make a real use of them, a knowledge of the alphabet as well as an understanding of the language is a pre-requisite condition. As for ancient India, MSS. are mostly written in Sanskrit, or else in Prakrit and Pali languages. Similarly, for the Sultanate and the Mughal periods, a grasp of the Semitic alphabets (the Arabic, Persian and Urdu characters) and a knowledge of the relevant language are indispensable for original work at grass-roots level. In fact, this period seems to present the toughest obstacles to scholars. It is unfortunate that mediaevalists, particularly Hindu scholars who outnumber all others, still largely depend on Elliot and Dowson's work entitled. *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians* in several volumes. It is a pioneering work and undoubtedly monumental, but hopelessly incomplete and inadequate. Apart from the difficulty in learning a Semitic script, the Hindus of late, have developed a sort of aversion to the study of these languages as they were spoken and written by outlandish people.

The first serious attempt to recover the Islamic MSS started with the founding of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal by William Jones, and thereafter certain other autonomous bodies and individual publishers in Lucknow, Azamgarh, Rampur, Deoband, Delhi, etc., but till now only

a few MSS have been edited and printed, with or without English translations, like Minhājuddīn's *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Raverty), Ziyāuddīn Baranī's *Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Rizvi), *Bābar-Nāmah* (Beveridge), Gulbadan Begam's *Humāyūn-Nāmah* (Beveridge), 'Abul Fazal 'Allāmī's *'Ain-i-Akbarī* (Blochmann and Jarret) and *Akbar-Nāmah* (Beveridge); Nizāmuddīn Ahmad's *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī* (B.De & Baini Prasad), 'Abdul Qadir Badāūnī's *Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh* (Ranking, Lowe and Haig), Muhammad Qāsim Firishta's *Tārikh-i-Firishta* (Briggs), *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers), Abdul Hamid Lāhaurī's *Pādshāh-Nāmah* (Bibl. Ind.) Muhammad Sālih Kambū's *Amal-i-Sālih* (Yazdani), Mirzā Nāthan's *Bahāristān-i-Ghaibi* (Borah), Md. Hashim Khāfī Khān's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab* (Sayeed), *Ma'āsir-i-'Ālamgīrī* (Sarkar), Mirza Md.. Kazim's *'Ālamgīr-Nāmah* (Hai), Shāh Nawāz Khān's *Ma'āsir-al-Umarā* (Beveridge and Baini Prashad), Ghulām Husain Salīm's *Riyāz-us-Salātīn* (A. Salam), etc., etc.

But these are a few bucketfuls of water from the oceanic mass of MSS. available in India and abroad, e.g., in the Cambridge University Library (Browne, Bendall); Munich Library, W. Germany; Berlin Library; Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; India Office Library, London; British Museum Library, London; Bodleian Library (Sachau and Éthé), Oxford; Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg, Russia; Eton College Library, Oxford; Lewis Collection, Philadelphia; John Rylands Library, Manchester; Oriental Academy, Vienna; Leyden Library (*Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Babliothecae*, etc., 6 vols., Leyden, 1851-77); Library of Ministry of Education, Tehran; Bibliothèque du Madjless, Tehran; Lahore Public Library, Lahore; MSS in the collection of the school of Oriental and African Studies, London; Arabic and Persian Collection in the R.A.S. of Gr. Britain and Ireland (Morley); Islamiyah College Library,

Peshawar, the Princeton University Library and many others. Besides, we have a stupendous load of *Akhbārāt*, i.e., News Letters or Court Bulletins. For the period of Aurangzeb alone, "we possess the *Akhbārāt* for the regnal years 20, 24, 25, 28, 31, 32, 33, 36, 40 and 43 to 51, some 5772 pages in Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's transcripts" (S.R. Sharma, *A Bibliography of Mughal India,* p.11). Added to these is the bulk of MSS. in Peshwa's Daftars (both Persian and Marāṭhī) and the Jaipur, Jodhpur and Kota Records. The Jaipur Record Office for instance, has already catalogued and indexed more than "307 letters from the emperors and princes, 9298 letters to the Mahārājas, more than 10,000 miscellaneous letters, and memoranda and 340 drafts of letters" (Sharma, p.23), all dated between 1606 and 1717, thus covering more than a century. This is indeed awe-inspiring and persistent efforts by teams of scholars for decades can only do something. An idea of the staggering number of MSS. must be more than a million can be had from the various catalogues of the collections, only some of which are mentioned above. C.A. Storey's monumental work on *Persian Literature - a Bio-bibliographical Survey,* D.N. Marshall's *Mughals in India (A Bibliographical Survey of the MSS. of the Mughal Period),* S.R. Sharma's *Bibliography of Mughal India; the Index Islamicus and the Encyclopaedia of Islam* - to name only a few - will show the immensity of the buried treasure that lies unutilised for historical research even today.

In fine, it cannot be gainsaid that all these manuscripts, briefly referred to above, are worth their weight in goldand are invaluable national assets which, if properly ransacked, would yield a panoramic picture of the political and cultural history of India and her developments through the ages.

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श्री. शङ्करनारायणः

भारतीयास्तिकदर्शनेष्वनुमानम् – ऐतिहासिकदृष्ट्या एको विमर्शः

I

"अविकल्पविषय एकः स्थाणुः पुरुषः श्रुतोऽस्ति यः श्रुतिषु।
ईश्वरमुमयाधिगतं[1] वन्देऽनुमयापि तमधिगतम्॥"

पद्यमिदं श्रीहर्षस्य अद्वैतिनां महाकवीनां च शिरोमणेः खण्डनखण्डखाद्ये मङ्गलश्लोकात्मकम्। श्लोकोऽयं निगदव्यारव्यातप्रायः। अत्र पूर्वार्धे परमेश्वरस्य श्रुतिप्रमाणसिद्धत्वं प्रतिपाद्य, उत्तरार्थे स एवानुमानप्रमाणेनाप्यधिगम्यते इति वर्णयति कविः। तथा च ईश्वरसिद्धौ ज्येष्ठं प्रमाणं श्रुतिः अनुमानं तु पश्चाद्भावि इति श्रीहर्षस्याभिप्रायः। अयं च पन्था अद्वैतिनाम्॥

नैयायिकानां मार्गस्त्वन्यः। तेषामयमाशयः – 'क्षित्यङ्कुरादिकं सकर्तृकं कार्यत्वात् घटवत्' इत्यमुमानेन क्षित्यङ्कुरादिकर्तृत्वेनेश्वरसिद्धौ, तदुच्चरितत्वेन वेदस्यापि प्रामाण्यनिश्चयात् वेदोऽपि

"द्यावाभूमी जनयन्देव एकः"

इत्यादिः ईश्वरसद्भावे मानं भवति[2]। एवं च ईश्वरसद्भावावेदकप्रमाणेषु अग्र्यं स्थानमनुमानस्य, श्रुतेस्तु न तथा। अत एव कुसुमाञ्जलौ पञ्चमस्तबके–

"कार्यायोजनधृत्यादेः पदात्प्रत्ययतः श्रुतेः।

वाक्यात्संख्याविशेषाच्च साध्यो विश्वविदव्ययः"॥

इति प्रथमे पद्ये कार्यत्वादिहेतुकानुमानपञ्चकम् ईश्वरसाधकत्वेनोपन्यस्य श्रुतेः षाष्ठं स्थानं दर्शयन्ति श्रीमदुदयनाचार्याः। तत्रापि 'श्रुतेः' इत्यस्य प्रथमव्याख्यानसमये –

"ऋग्वेदादयो वेदाः सर्वज्ञकर्तृकाः,
सर्वार्थविद्योतकत्वात् यन्नैवं तन्नैवम्, यथा रामायणादि"

इति वेदप्रोक्तृत्वेन ईश्वरं व्यतिरेक्यनुमानेन साधयन्त्याचार्याः।

द्वितीयव्याख्यानावसरे एव श्रुतिषु सर्वत्र गीयमानतया ईश्वरसद्भावे वेदाः अपि प्रमाणं भवन्तीति दर्शयन्ति ते। "कृत्स्नं एव हि वेदोऽयं परमेश्वरगोचरः" (v,16) इत्यादिना, तथा–

"न सन्त्येव हि वेदभागाः यत्र परमेश्वरो न गीयते।
तथा हि – स्रष्टृत्वेन पुरूषसूक्तेषु; विभूत्या रुद्रेषु,
शब्दब्रह्मत्वेन मण्डलब्राह्मणेषु; प्रपञ्चं पुरस्कृत्य
निष्प्रपञ्चतया उपनिषत्सु; यज्ञपुरुषत्वेन मन्त्रविधिषु,
देहाविर्भावैरुपाख्यानेषु; उपास्यत्वेन सर्वत्र"

इत्यादिना। सत्यमाचार्यवाक्यस्यास्य

"वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्यः"

इति भगवद्गीतावाक्येनैकवाक्यता। ईदृशमत्युन्नतं स्थानं नैयायिकसमये अनुमानस्य॥

अस्मिन्नेव औदयने पथि पूर्वगामिन इव भगवद्बादरायणाचार्याः जगज्जन्मादिकारणत्वेन प्रथमम्, तदनन्तरम् ऋग्वेदादिशास्त्रकर्तृत्वेन तथा तादृशशास्त्रप्रतिपाद्यत्वेन च ब्रह्म प्रतिपादयन्ति

"जन्माद्यस्य यतः (1.1.2)"

"शास्त्रयोनित्वात् (1.1.3)"

इति ब्रह्मसूत्रद्वयेन[3]। इत्थमनुमानं नैयायिकानां साम्राज्यायते॥

अत एव न्यायदर्शने प्रथमसूत्रभाष्ये संशयादीनां पृथग्वचनमनर्थकमिति विचारप्रस्तावे

"अनुमानमेव अन्वीक्षा, तथा प्रवर्तते इत्यान्वीक्षिकी, न्यायशास्त्रम्"

इत्युपदिशन्तो वात्स्यायनाचार्या स्वकीये भाष्ये अनुमानमेव न्यायशास्त्रस्य हृदयमिति द्योतयन्ति। तस्मिन्नेव प्रकरणे न्यायवार्तिककृतः उद्योतकराचार्या अप्याहुः –

"यदिहानुमानादधिगतोऽर्थः प्रत्यक्षागमाभ्याम् अनुसन्धीयते, अथ स्फुटतरप्रत्ययो भवति"।

इति। अन्यच्च सुप्रसिद्धमेतत्–

"प्रत्यक्षेण दृष्टमप्यर्थमनुमानेन बुभुत्सन्ते तर्करसिकाः"

इति टीकाकृतां वाचस्पतिमिश्राणां वचनम्। किं बहुना–

"प्रमाणम् अर्थवत्, प्रवृत्तिसामर्थ्यात्"

इति प्रमाणसामान्यस्य प्रामाण्यं परतः, अर्थात् समर्थप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वहेतुकानुमानतः

इति स्थापयितुं शास्त्रारम्भे प्रवृत्ताः टीकाकृतः केवलव्यतिरेक्यनुमानतामस्यानुमानस्य प्रथमं निदर्शयन्तोऽपि तावता अपरितुष्यन्तस्ते। इदमनुमानमन्वयव्यतिरेक्यपि भवति इति साधायितुम्

"अनुमानस्य स्वतः प्रमाणतया अन्वयस्यापि सम्भवात्"

इति वदन्तः अनुमानस्य अन्यप्रमाणदुर्लभं स्वतःप्रामाण्यमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति इत्यहो अनुमानोपासकता नैयायिकधौरेयाणाम्! इत्थमिदमनुमानं कर्कशतर्क–शास्त्रमहासाम्राज्ये सिंहासनाभिषिक्तं चकास्ति। मन्ये, एतस्मादेव कारणात् नव्यन्यायशास्त्रकाराः गङ्गेशोपाध्यायाः तथा तद्व्याख्यातारो मिश्रशिरोमणिप्रभृतयः तत्त्वचिन्तामणौ अनुमानविचारात्मके अनुमानखण्डे एव आदरातिशयं दर्शयन्ति॥

तस्मात् एतस्य च न्यायशास्त्रमहानगर्याः प्रमाणदेवतायतनमहाविमाने समुज्ज्वलद्रत्नमहाशिखरायमाणस्यास्य महाविषयस्य महतोऽनुमानस्य तत्त्वं तथा तदीयविभागं चाधिकृत्य नैयायिकपथा किंचिद्विचारयामः। यद्यपि बहु विचारितमत्र पूर्वसूरिभिः तथापि चारित्रिकदृष्टचा अयं विषयः न विचारित इति, तस्मिन्नेवाक्षुण्णे मार्गे यावच्छक्यं गच्छामः॥

II

आस्तिकदर्शनेषु गौतमीये काणादे च अनुमानलक्षणविभागौ पश्यामः, कापिलेऽपि सूत्रे इदानीं नष्टे तावभूतामित्यपि जानीमः। कापिलं, काणादं च लक्षणादिकं परस्ताद्यथावकाशं द्रक्ष्यामः। गौतमीयं त्वनुमानसूत्रमेवं वर्तते–

"अथ तत्पूर्वकं त्रिविधमनुमानम् पूर्ववत्, शेषवत् सामान्यतो दृष्टं च" (न्या, सू, 1.1.5)

इति। भाष्यकृद्भिः अथशब्दस्यार्थो नैव वर्णितः। न्यायमञ्जरीकारा जयन्तभट्टास्तु अथशब्दं विनैव सूत्रं पठन्ति । अथशब्दघटितपाठ एवं वार्त्तिके, टीकायाम्, न्यायसूचीनिबन्धे[4], न्यायसूत्रोद्धारे[5], तथा विश्वनाथपञ्चाननकृतन्यायसूत्रवृत्तौ च दृश्यते॥

III

अनुमानसूत्रस्यास्यार्थं भाष्यकारदृष्टया किंचित् द्रक्ष्यामः। सूत्रे तत्पूर्वकमिति लक्षणम्, अनुमानमिति लक्ष्यनिर्देशः। तत्पूर्वकमिति समासघटकतत्पदेन पूर्वसूत्रवाक्यार्थमुख्यविशेष्यं प्रत्यक्षज्ञानमभिसंबध्यते। तत् प्रत्यक्षं पूर्वं कारणं यस्य तत् तत्पूर्वकमिति प्रत्यक्षकारणकम् अनुमानमिति वाक्यार्थः॥

अत्राह – पूर्वसूत्रे प्रत्यक्षसामान्यं लिलक्षयिषितम्। प्रत्यक्षसामान्यं न कस्याप्यनुमानस्य कारणमिति प्रत्यक्षविशेषः कश्चित् कारणतया वक्तव्यः। स च नोक्त इति कीदृशं प्रत्यक्षं विवक्षितसन्देहे, तदपनोदकं न किञ्चिदपि दृश्यते। तथा च सन्देहादलक्षणमेवैतत्। एवं प्रत्यक्षपूर्वके उपमानादावतिव्याप्तिः, तथा अनुमानादिपूर्वके अनुमाने अव्याप्तिरित्यप्यलक्षणमिदमिति। न – 'व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् ' इत्यभियुक्तोक्तेः। तथा च तत्पदेन व्याख्यानबलात् लिङ्गलिङ्गिसंबन्धात्मकव्याप्तिप्रत्यक्षं तथा पक्षे लिङ्गदर्शनं – यच्च पक्षधर्मताप्रत्यक्षमिति वदन्ति नव्याः – इति प्रत्यक्षद्वयस्यैव प्रतिपत्तेः सन्देहापनोदात्। एतादृशप्रत्यक्षद्वयपूर्वकत्वं नोपमानादेरिति न तत्रातिव्याप्तिः। यद्यपि उक्तप्रत्यक्षद्वयजन्यसंस्कारेऽतिव्याप्तिः। तथापि प्रकरणात् प्रमाणमित्युपतिष्ठते। तथा च तत्पूर्वकत्वे सति प्रमाणत्वं न संस्कारस्येति तद्व्युदासः। यद्यपि अनुमानोपमानशब्दा अपि तदा तदा भवन्ति अनुमानकारणम्। तथापि तेषामन्ततो गत्वा पारम्पर्येण प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकत्वान्न

दोष इति। भाष्ये लक्षणसमन्वयवाक्यमेवं वर्तते –

> "तत्पूर्वकमित्यनेन लिङ्गलिङ्गिनोः संबन्धदर्शनं लिङ्गदर्शनं चाभिसंबध्यते। लिङ्गलिङ्गिनोः संबन्धदर्शनेन लिङ्गस्मृतिरभिसंबध्यते। स्मृत्या लिङ्गदर्शनेन च अप्रत्यक्षोऽर्थोऽनुमीयते"

इति। एवम् अनुमितौ लक्षणसमन्वयेन सूत्रस्थम् अनुमानपदम् अनुमितिपरम्, अनुमीयते इत्यनुमानमिति भावप्रत्ययान्तमिति भाष्यकृदाशय इति भाति। युक्तं चैतत् पूर्वसूत्रे प्रत्यक्षप्रमाया एव लक्षणकरणात् तदनुसारेणात्रापि अनुमितेर्लक्षणस्यैव उचितत्वात्॥

किंच उपरिनिर्दिष्टभाष्यपङ्क्तिपर्यालोचने इदमपि प्रतिभाति – व्याप्तिस्मृतिः पक्षधर्मताज्ञानं चेति द्वयस्य अनुमितिकारणत्वं प्रतिपादयतां भाष्यकृतां काले व्याप्तिविशिष्टपक्षधर्मताज्ञानात्मकस्य तृतीयलिङ्गपरामर्शस्य अनुमितिकारणत्ववादः प्रायशो नोत्पन्नः,अथवा उत्पन्नोऽपि न प्रसिद्ध इति॥

त्रिविधमनुमानमिति। त्रैविध्यमेव दर्शयति सूत्रकारः पूर्ववदित्यादिना। अत्र भाष्यम् –

> "पूर्ववदिति – यत्र कारणेन कार्यमनुमीयते"

इति। तथा च पूर्वमिति कार्यात् पूर्वस्य कारणस्य निर्देशः, व्याख्यानात्। तत्पूर्वकमिति अस्मिन्नेव सूत्रे कारणार्थकपूर्वपददर्शनाच्च। तथा च यदा कारणेन कार्यमनुमीयते, तदा अनुमितौ कार्यं भासते, न कारणमिति पूर्ववत् अनुमानम्,, अर्थात् अनुमितिरिति व्याघात एव। न, त्रिविधमनुमानमिति वाक्ये अनुमानपदस्य अनुमीयते अनेनेति करणव्युत्पत्त्या अनुमितिकरणार्थकत्वात्, कार्यानुमितेः विषयितया कारणात्मकलिङ्गवतो ज्ञानादुत्पत्तेः। एवं च 'तत्पूर्वकं त्रिविधमनुमानम्' इति लक्षणवाक्ये अनुमानम् इति अनुमितिपरम्।

त्रिविधमनुमानं पूर्ववदित्यादिविभागवाक्ये अनुमानमिति अनुमितिकरणपरमिति विवेकः॥

ननु एकं हीदं सौत्रं वाक्यम्। तदेवं सति भिद्येत। न, एवंविधवाक्यभेदशङ्का उचिता वैदिकेषु वाक्येषु अनन्यलब्धार्थकेषु। सूत्रेषु तु नास्याः शङ्काया अवतारः; अत्रान्यतोऽवगतार्थानां वाक्यानामेकदेशाः सूच्यन्ते अथवा सूत्र्यन्ते इति सूत्रमिति अनेकार्थत्वमलङ्कारः सूत्राणामिति। यथाहुश्चोदनासूत्रे वाक्यार्थविदां मार्गदर्शिनः शबरस्वामिनः–

> "यत्र (अपूर्वो) वाक्यार्थोऽवगम्यते, तत्रैवं वाक्यभेददोषः तत्तु वैदिकेषु, न सूत्रेषु। अन्यतोऽवगतेऽर्थे सूत्रम्, एवमर्थमिदमित्यवगम्यते। तेन च (वाक्यानाम्) एकदेशाः सूत्र्यन्ते इति सूत्रम्। तत्र भिन्नयोरेव वाक्ययोरिमावेकदेशौ इत्यवगन्तव्यम्"(शाबरभाष्यम् , 1.1.2)।"

अत एव कारणात् वैयाकरणा अपि हलन्त्यसूत्रस्यार्थद्वयं वर्णयन्ति। तथा तत्र तत्र पाणिनिसूत्राणां योगविभागं प्रदर्शयन्ति च। किं च तत्पूर्वकं त्रिविधमनुमानमिति पूर्वतनवाक्ये अनुमितेः लक्षणेन साकं अनुमितित्रैविध्यस्यापि कथनात्॥

तत् त्रैविध्यं कीदृशं किंप्रयुक्तं चेत्याकाङ्क्षायां कार्यानुमित्यादिरूपस्य अनुमितित्रैविध्यस्य करणगतपूर्ववत्त्वादित्रैविध्यप्रयुक्तत्वस्यावश्यवक्तव्यतया त्रिविधमनुमानं पूर्ववदित्याद्युत्तरवाक्यस्यात्यन्तापेक्षिततत्वात्। तथा च पूर्ववदिति तथा शेषवदित्यादिरपि अनुमितिकरणभूतस्यानुमानपदार्थस्य विशेषणम्। पूर्ववदित्यस्यायमर्थः – पूर्वं कारणं विषयतया अस्य पक्षधर्मताज्ञानस्य व्याप्तिस्मृतिसहितस्येति पूर्ववत् इति प्रथमविधमनुमानम्॥

यद्यपि कारणमात्रं व्यभिचरति कार्योत्पादम् । तथापि यादृशविशेषणविशिष्टं

सत् कारणं न व्यभिचरति, तत्र निपुणेन अनुमात्रा भवितव्यम् । अन्यथा धूममात्रमपि विच्छिन्नमूलं वह्निमत्तां व्यभिचरति इति धूमो न वह्निगमको भवेत् । कारणात् कार्यानुमानस्योदाहरणभाष्यम्–

"यथा मेघोन्नत्या भविष्यति वृष्टिः"

इति ॥

अनुमानप्रयोगस्त्वित्थम्–'अचिराद्वर्षयिष्यन्तीमे मेघाः, गभीरध्वानवत्त्वे सति बहुलबलाकाभिः सेवितत्वे सति विद्युद्वत्त्वे सति उन्नतिमत्त्वात्, वर्षाकालमेघवत्, व्यतिरेके शारदाभ्रवत्' इति॥

शेषवदिति । उक्तादन्यः शेषः। तथा च प्रथमविधानुमाने पूर्वशब्दोपात्तकारणादन्यत् कार्यं शेषशब्दार्थः। तत् कार्यं विषयतया अस्य पक्षधर्मताज्ञानस्य व्याप्तिस्मृतिसहितस्येति शेषवत् इत्यर्थः। कारणानुमितेः करणभूतं द्वितीयविधमनुमानमिति यावत् । अस्य च भाष्यकृदुक्तमुदाहरणम् इत्थम्–

"पूर्वोदकविपरीतमुदकं नद्याः पूर्णत्वं शीघ्रत्वं च
दृष्ट्वा स्रोतसोऽनुमीयते उपरिभूता वृष्टिरिति"।

प्रयोगस्तु– 'नदीयम् उपरिवृष्टिमद्देशसंबन्धवती, स्रोतःशीघ्रत्वे सति पूर्णत्वात्, प्रावृट्कालगङ्गावत्' इति॥

सामान्यतो दृष्टमिति। पूर्वोक्तद्विविधानुमानयोः कारणस्य कार्यस्य च लिङ्गस्य विशेषात्मकस्योक्तत्वात्, तद्विशेषभिन्नं सामान्यमिति अकार्यकारणीभूतं लिङ्गम्, अर्थात् लिङ्गिना अविनाभावसम्बन्धेन सम्बद्धं सामान्यशब्दार्थः। एवं च सामान्यतो दृष्टमित्यस्य सामान्यस्य लिङ्गस्य, अर्थात् अविनाभाविनो दर्शनमित्यर्थः। सार्वविभक्तिकः तसिः षष्ठ्यर्थे; भावे क्तः। अथवा सामान्येनाविनाभाविना लिङ्गेन लक्षितं दर्शनमित्यर्थः। इत्थंभूतलक्षणे

तृतीयास्तसिः। यद्यपि अविनाभावरूपसामान्यलिङ्गं पूर्ववच्छेषवतोरपि प्रापकं भवति । तथापि तत्पदसमभिव्याहारात् गोबलीवर्दन्यायेन ते परित्यज्य अन्यत्र विश्राम्यति । अत्रोदाहरणभाष्यम्–

> "व्रज्यापूर्वकमन्यत्र दृष्टस्यान्यत्र दर्शनमिति, तथा चादित्यस्य, तस्मादस्त्यप्रत्यक्षाप्यादित्यस्य व्रज्येति।"

परन्तु एतादृशम् आदित्यस्य व्रज्यानुमानं कार्यात्कारणानुमानरूपमिति शेषवदुदाहरणमेवेति दर्शयन्तो वार्त्तिककृतः उदाहरणान्तरं दर्शयन्ति – वृक्षादिमानयं प्रदेशविशेषः सलिलवान्, बलाकाभिरजहद्वृत्तित्वात् इति। परन्तु बलाकाकर्तृकाजहद्वृत्तित्वं सलिलसत्त्वप्रयुक्तमिति भाष्योदाहरणेन समानयोगक्षेमप्रायमिति भाति । अतो घटो द्रव्यम्, पृथिवीत्वात्, पटवत् इति वृत्तिकृद्दर्शितमुदाहरणम्, अथवा अयं कपित्थः एतद्रसवान्, एतद्गन्धात्, पूर्वभुक्तकपित्थवत् इति न्यायमञ्जरीकारोक्तमुदाहरणमत्र बोध्यम् । गन्धरसयोः एकार्थसमवेतत्वेऽपि परस्परमकार्यकारणत्वात् । एवं द्रव्यत्वपृथिवीत्वयोरपि॥

एवं 'तत्पूर्वकं त्रिविधमनुमानम्' इति प्रथमलक्षण–वाक्यनिर्दिष्टमनुमितेस्त्रैविध्यं तत्कारणगतत्रैविध्यप्रयुक्तमिति 'त्रिविधमनुमानं पूर्ववत्' इत्यादिद्वितीयवाक्यार्थवर्णनद्वारा सूचनयोपदिश्य, स्वतन्त्रतया प्रकारान्तरेणापि अनुमितेस्त्रैविध्यं संभवतीति दर्शयितुं तस्यैव द्वितीयवाक्यस्यार्थान्तरं वर्णयन्ति भाष्यकृतः। इदानीम् आवृत्तद्वितीयवाक्यगतम् अनुमानपदम् अनुमितिपरम्। त्रिविधा अनुमितिः पूर्ववदित्याद्यर्थः॥

तत्र पूर्ववदिति पूर्वेण तुल्यं वर्तते इति पूर्ववत्। 'तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद्वतिः' (अष्टा. 5.1.115) इति वतिप्रत्ययः। यथापूर्वं दृष्टान्तधर्मिणि प्रत्यक्षादिविषये महानसादौ धूमादिहेतुदर्शनेन सह साध्यदर्शनम्, एवं प्रकृतपक्षे पर्वतादौ साधनधर्मदर्शनेन साध्यधर्मस्य अनुमानम् अनुमितिदर्शनमिति क्रियातुल्यता बोध्या॥

शेषवदनुमानं नाम परिशेषानुमितिः। 'सदनित्यं कार्यं कारणं सामान्यविशेषवत्' (वैशेषिकसूत्रम् 1.1.8) इत्यादिना शब्दे सामान्यादिभेदे सिद्धे, एकद्रव्यसमवेतत्वेन संयोगविभागासमवायिकारणत्वाभावेन च द्रव्यकर्मभेदे च सिद्धे परिशेषाद्गुणत्वानुमानम्– शब्दो गुणः, द्रव्यकर्मादिषट्पदार्थभिन्नत्वे सति पदार्थत्वात्, रूपरसादिवत् इति॥

सामान्यतो दृष्टानुमानं नाम सामान्यतो व्याप्तिग्रहणादनुमितिः। प्रकृतलिङ्गलिङ्गिनोः व्याप्त्यग्रहेऽपि तत्समानयोगक्षेमयोः व्याप्तिग्रहात् अनुमितिरिति यावत् । यथा इच्छादीनाम् आत्मनश्च सम्बन्धे अप्रत्यक्षेऽपि इच्छादीनां गुणत्वस्य प्रतीतत्वात्, गुणो द्रव्याश्रित एवेति व्याप्तेः सामान्यतो गृहीतत्वात् इच्छादीनां द्रव्याश्रितत्वं सामान्यतो दृष्टादनुमानात्, इच्छादयो द्रव्याश्रिताः, गुणत्वात् इति। एतदनुगृहीतेन परिशेषानुमानेन अष्टद्रव्यानाश्रितत्व–विशिष्टद्रव्याश्रितत्वलिङ्गकेन आत्माश्रितत्वसिद्धिः॥

यद्यपि विभागादेव त्रैविध्यं सिद्धम् तथापि महाविषयस्य महतो न्यायस्य तत्पूर्वकमित्येतावतैव लघीयसा सन्दर्भेणोपदेशात् उत्तमं वाक्यलाघवं संजातमिति मन्यमानेन सूत्रकृता शिष्यव्युत्पिपादयिषया अस्मिन् वाक्यलाघवे नादरो दर्शितः इति भाष्यकृद्दर्शितः पन्थाः॥

IV

गौतमीयानुमानसूत्रार्थपरीक्षावसरे वार्त्तिककृत्समादृतः पन्थाः किंचिदिव भिन्नः। तथा हि –

अथशब्दघटितमेवानुमानसूत्रमिति मन्वते वार्त्तिककृत इति पूर्वमेव दृष्टमस्माभिः। सौत्रः अथशब्द आनन्तर्यार्थः प्रत्यक्षानुमानयोः हेतुहेतुमद्भावद्योतकश्चेति सांप्रदायिकाः। परन्तु प्रत्यक्षसूत्रे उपमानादिसूत्रेषु

च अथेति न श्रूयते । एवं तत्पूर्वकमिति कण्ठत एवोक्तो हेतुहेतुमद्भावः प्रत्यक्षानुमानयोः। अतो मन्यामहे दर्शनान्तरसूत्रकृद्भिरनुसृतं सामान्यमार्गमविगणय्य अथशब्दमनुच्चार्यैव शास्त्राद्यसूत्रकरणे प्रवृत्ता अपि न्यायसूत्रकृत इदानीम् नैयायिकसर्वस्वभूतमनुमानं लक्षयितुं प्रवृत्ता अत्र सूत्रे अथशब्दोच्चारणेन अस्य मङ्गलार्थकत्वमपि मन्वत एव॥

तत्पूर्वकमिति तत्पदेन पूर्वसूत्रवाक्यार्थमुख्यविशेष्यस्य प्रत्यक्षस्य परामर्शः। प्रमाणविचारः प्रकृत इति प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकं प्रत्यक्षज्ञानजन्यं प्रमाणम् अनुमानमिति वाक्यार्थः। तेन प्रत्यक्षपूर्वके संस्कारादौ नातिव्याप्तिः॥

पूर्वतनसूत्रे इन्द्रियार्थसंनिकर्षोत्पन्नमित्यादिना प्रत्यक्षज्ञानस्य लक्षणमुक्तमिति तदनुसारेणात्र सूत्रेऽपि तत्पूर्वकमनुमानमिति अनुमितेर्लक्षणमिति मन्वते भाष्यकारा इति दृष्टमस्माभिः पूर्वम् । परन्तु प्रमाणनिरूपणस्यैव परमप्रकृतत्वात् प्रत्यक्षसूत्रेऽपि 'यत' इत्यध्याहृत्य यत्तदोर्नित्यसंबद्धत्वात् तत् प्रत्यक्षमिति प्रमाणवाचकं पदं योजनीयम्[6] । एवमुपमानादिसूत्रयोरपि तत्तत्प्रमाणलक्षणमुच्यते । अतःकारणात् अत्रापि सूत्रे अनुमानप्रमाणनिरूपणं सम्यगाञ्जस्येनोपपद्यते इति मन्वत एव वार्त्तिककृतः॥

किंच वार्त्तिककृतां काले व्याप्तिविशिष्टपक्षधर्मताज्ञानात्मकस्य तृतीयलिङ्गपरामर्शस्य अनुमितिकरणत्वं सिद्धमभूत् इत्यपि प्रतिभाति । यतो हि ते तस्यैवानुमितिकरणत्वमभ्युपगच्छन्ति । यत आहुः–

> "एके तावद्वर्णयन्ति लिङ्गलिङ्गिसंबन्धस्मृतिरनुमानमिति इतरैर्लिङ्गलिङ्गिसंबन्धदर्शनादिभिरनुगृह्यमाणा । अपरे तु मन्यन्ते लिङ्गपरामर्शोऽनुमानमिति । वयं तु पश्यामः सर्वमनुमानमिति; अनुमितेस्तन्नान्तरीयकत्वात्। प्रधानोपसर्जनत्वविवक्षायां तु तृतीयलिङ्गपरामर्शोऽनुमानमिति

> न्याय्यम् । कः पुनरत्र न्यायः? आनन्तर्यप्रतिपत्तिः। यस्मात् लिङ्गपरामर्शानन्तरं साध्यप्रतिपत्तिः तस्माल्लिङ्ग-परामर्शोऽनुमानम्"

इति॥

एतन्मतद्वयमपि नव्यतर्कग्रन्थेषूल्लेखितं दृश्यते। यतः–

"व्यापारस्तु परामर्शः करणं व्याप्तिधीर्भवेत्"

इति कारिकावली । तथा

> "एवं स्वार्थानुमितिपरार्थानुमित्योः लिङ्गपरामर्श एव करणम् । तस्माल्लिङ्गपरामर्शोऽनुमानम्"

इति तर्कसंग्रहः ।

> "व्यापारवत्कारणं करणमिति मते व्याप्तिज्ञानं करणम्। फलायोगव्यवच्छिन्नं कारणं करणमिति मते विशिष्टपरामर्श एव करणम्"

इति तदुपरि नीलकण्ठप्रकाशिका । एतावता इदं ज्ञातं भवति यत् द्वितीयपक्षे एव वार्त्तिककृतामादर इति॥

अत्र प्रत्यक्षसामान्यस्य पूर्वसूत्रे लक्षितत्वात् कीदृशं प्रत्यक्षं प्रकृते विवक्षितमिति संदेहे तदपनोदकादर्शनात्, प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकत्वस्य उपमानादावतिव्याप्तेः, अनुमानादिपूर्वके अनुमाने अव्याप्तेश्च अलक्षणमेतत् इति प्राप्ते इदमुपतिष्ठते 'व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम्' इति। तथा हि – तानि पूर्वाणि, ते पूर्वे, तत् पूर्वं यस्य तत् तत्पूर्वकमिति विग्रहत्रयमत्र विवक्षितम् । तत्र प्रथमे विग्रहे तानीत्यनेन अव्यवहितपूर्वतनप्रत्यक्षसूत्रमुल्लङ्घ्यापि तत्पूर्वतनप्रमाणविभागसूत्रनिर्दिष्टानि समस्तान्यपि प्रमाणानि अभिसंबध्यन्ते,

योग्यत्वात् । 'यस्य येनाभिसंबन्धो दूरस्थस्यापि तस्य सः' इति न्यायात्। एवं च सर्वप्रमाणपूर्वकत्वमनुमानस्योक्तं भवति । तथा च न पूर्वोक्ताव्याप्तिप्रसंगः । यद्यपि नैकस्याप्यनुमानस्य न समस्तप्रमाणपूर्वकत्वम्। तथापि तानीति यथासंभवं तत्तत्प्रमाणपूर्वकत्वं प्रतिपादयतीत्यदोषः । अथवा प्रथमसूत्रे प्रतिज्ञाद्यवयवविचारप्रस्तावे भाष्योपदर्शितदिशा परार्थानुमाने सर्वप्रमाणसमवायसंभवाद्वा अदोषः॥

यदापि विवेकात् ते, द्वे प्रत्यक्षे, पूर्वे यस्य प्रत्यक्षस्य तदिदं तत्पूर्वकं प्रत्यक्षमिति विग्रहः, तदा तृतीयलिङ्गपरामर्शः अनुमानम्, अनुमितिकरणमित्यर्थः। लिङ्गलिङ्गिनोः व्याप्तिग्रहः प्रथमं प्रत्यक्षम्, लिङ्गस्य पक्षधर्मताप्रत्यक्षं द्वितीयम् । बुभुत्सावतो द्वितीयलिङ्गदर्शनात् संस्काराभिव्यक्तया तदुत्तरं व्याप्तिस्मृतिः तदनन्तरं पुनः तृतीयलिङ्गदर्शनं व्याप्तिविशिष्ट–पक्षधर्मताप्रत्यक्षरूपम् । तदनन्तरमनुमितिरिति लक्षणसमन्वयः। उपमानादौ एतादृशप्रत्यक्षपूर्वकत्वं नास्तीति नातिव्याप्तिः। इदं च स्वविषये प्रत्यक्षमपि अनुमेयार्थप्रत्ययं जनयत् अनुमानम् । लक्षणे प्रत्यक्षग्रहणमुपलक्षणम्; तेन ते द्वे अनुमाने पूर्वे यस्य तदित्यपि विग्रहः। तेनानुमानादिपूर्वकानुमाने नाव्याप्तिः॥

यदा तु तत् प्रत्यक्षं पूर्वं यस्य प्रत्यक्षस्य इति विग्रहः, तदा लिङ्गलिङ्गिसंबन्धदर्शनपक्षधर्मतादर्शनव्याप्तिस्मृतयो युगपत् तत्पदेनाभिसंबध्यन्ते, भेदस्याविवक्षितत्वात् । तत्पूर्वकत्वाल्लिङ्गपरामर्शस्येति लक्षणसमन्वयः। इत्थं च वार्त्तिककृद्दृष्टया तत्पूर्वकं त्रिविधमनुमानमिति सौत्रे वाक्ये त्रिविधमिति देहलीदीपन्यायेन उभयत्रान्वयि–त्रिविधं तत्पूर्वकमिति, तथा त्रिविधमनुमानमिति अन्वयद्वैविध्यमिति सिद्धं भवति॥

V

एवं तत्पूर्वकत्वगतत्रैविध्यमुद्भाष्यं प्रदर्शितरीत्या व्युत्पाद्य अनुमानगतत्रैविध्यमपि भाष्यानुसारेण पूर्ववदादिपदानां प्रत्येकमर्थद्वयवर्णनपूर्वकं प्रदर्शितं वार्त्तिककृद्भिः। तदनन्तरं पूर्ववदादिपदानामेव उद्भाष्यं तृतीयार्थवर्णनं प्रदर्शयन्तो वार्त्तिककृत एवं मन्यन्त एव । तथा हि–सूत्रे त्रिविधमिति पूर्ववदित्यादिपदैरपि प्रत्येकमन्वेति त्रिविधं पूर्ववत्, त्रिविधं शेषवत्, त्रिविधं सामान्यतो दृष्टमिति । तथा च त्रिविधमिति भ्रमरपुष्पिकान्यायेन भिक्षुकगृहस्थन्यायेन वा सूत्रस्थैः सर्वैरपि पदान्तरैरन्वेति इति । पूर्ववदादीनां द्वैविध्यस्य भाष्योपवर्णितदिशा व्याख्यानं कृत्वा तृतीया विद्या तेषामुद्भाष्यमेवं प्रदर्श्यते॥

तथाहि – *पूर्ववदिति।* त्रिष्वप्यनुमानेषु साध्यस्यैव पूर्वं प्रदर्शनात् पूर्वं साध्यम्, प्रतिपिपादयिषितधर्मविशिष्टो धर्मी; अर्थात् पक्षः। तदस्य व्याप्त्या अस्तीति पूर्ववत्। पक्षतावच्छेदकव्यापकमिति पर्यवसितार्थः। तेन भागासिद्धिव्युदासः। शेषवदिति पक्षभिन्नत्वे सति पक्षसजातीयः शेषः। पक्षस्य पूर्वमुक्तत्वात् ततोऽन्यः तज्जातीयः शेषः पक्षसामान्येन समानः, सपक्ष इति यावत् । सः अधिकरणतया अस्यास्तीति शेषवत्, सपक्षवृत्तीत्यर्थः। सामान्यतोऽदृष्टमिति । नञमन्तर्भाव्य व्याख्यानात् सामान्यतश्चादृष्टमित्यर्थः। सपक्षविपक्षसमुदायः प्रकरणात् सामान्यशब्दार्थः। तत्र सपक्षस्य शेषपदेनोक्ततया गोबलीवर्दन्यायेनेदानीं सामान्यपदं विपक्षमात्रेऽर्थे विश्रान्तम् । तथाच सामान्यतोऽदृष्टमित्यस्य विपक्षेष्ववृत्तीति पर्यवसितार्थः। इत्थं चेदं पूर्ववदित्यादिविशेषणत्रयं अनुमानपदार्थस्य अनुमितिकरणस्य अर्थात् ज्ञायमानलिङ्गस्य सामानाधिकरण्येन विशेषणम् । एवंरीत्या अर्थवर्णनात्, यत्

"अनुमेयेन[7] संबद्धं प्रसिद्धं च तदन्विते ।
तदभावे च नास्त्येव तल्लिङ्गमनुमापकम्" ॥

इति प्रशस्तपादकारिकार्थो गौतमसूत्रारूढो भवतीति मन्यन्त इव वार्त्तिककृतः। एतेनेदमप्यनुमातुं शक्यम्–यत् एवमुद्भाष्यं सूत्रस्य व्याख्याने प्रवृत्ता वार्त्तिककृतः सत्यं प्रशस्तपादवचनेनात्यन्तं प्रभाविता इति॥

वार्त्तिककृत एवमप्यभिप्रयन्ति । तथाहि – सामान्यतोऽदृष्टं चेति सौत्रेण चकारेण अबाधितत्वासत्प्रतिपक्षितत्वे समुच्चीयेते । इत्थं च अबाधितत्वासत्प्रतिपक्षितत्वपूर्ववत्त्वेत्यादित्रितयविशिष्टं सत् शेषवत् अनुमानमिति प्रथमा विधा । एतत्त्रितयविशिष्टं सत् सामान्यतश्चादृष्टमिति द्वितीया। तद्विशिष्टं सत् शेषवत् सामान्यतश्चादृष्टमिति तृतीयेति सूत्रोक्तत्रैविध्यसंगतिः। तत्राद्यद्वयं विशेषणचतुष्टयवत्, तृतीयं तु विशेषणपञ्चकवदिति विवेक इति तात्पर्यटीका॥

अन्यच्च–त्रिविधमिति अनुमानस्य अर्थात् ज्ञायमानलिङ्गस्य प्रसिद्ध–सदसंदिग्धतामाह । अत्र प्रसिद्धत्वं पक्षे प्रसिद्धत्वम् । सत्त्वमिति तत्सजातीयेषु अस्तित्वम् । असन्दिग्धमिति विपक्षावृत्तित्वमाह। लिङ्गस्य विपक्षेऽपि वृत्तित्वे पक्षसतस्तस्य साध्यसंशयोत्पादकत्वात् । तथा च एवं व्याख्याने त्रिविधमित्यनेन सूचितस्यैवार्थस्य पूर्ववदित्यादिना उपर्युक्तप्रकारेण प्रपञ्चः। सत्यमेवंरीत्या व्याख्याने प्रवृत्ता वार्त्तिककृतः अप्रसिद्धोऽनपदेशोऽसन्[8] 'संदिग्धश्चानपदेशः' (वै.सू. 3.1.15) इति कणादसूत्रेण प्रभाविताः॥

अत्रेदं तत्त्वम् । एतावता अस्माभिरिदं दृष्टं भवति–भाष्यकृद्दृष्ट्या द्वितीयलिङ्गपरामर्शो व्याप्तिस्मृतिसहितोऽनुमितिकरणमनुमानम् । परन्तु वार्त्तिककृतां काले तृतीयस्य लिङ्गपरामर्शस्य अनुमितिकरणत्वं नैयायिकानामनुमतमभूत्। एवं वैशेषिकनये एव प्रशस्तपादाचार्यैः ज्ञायमानलिङ्गस्यानुमितिकरणत्वमुक्तरीत्या अङ्गीकृतं यद्यपि । तथाप्ययं पक्षो भाष्यकृद्भिः अपरामृष्टो वार्त्तिककृतां

काले नैयायिकानुमानदुर्गं संप्रविष्टोऽभूत्। परन्त्वयं पक्षो न पश्चात्तनैर्नैयायिकैः स्वीकृतः। यतोऽस्य निराकरणम्

"अनुमायां ज्ञायमानं लिङ्गं तु करणं न हि।
अनागतादिलिङ्गेन न स्यादनुमितिस्तदा"॥

इत्यादिरीत्या भाषापरिच्छेदप्रभृतिषु दृश्यते इति॥

अन्यच्च – त्रिविधमित्यस्यैवोद्भाष्यं तृतीयमप्यर्थं वर्णयन्ति वार्त्तिककृतः। तथाहि – त्रिविधमनुमानमिति केवलान्वयिनं हेतुम्, केवलव्यतिरेकिणं तम्, अन्वयव्यतिरेकिणं च तमाह। तत्र केवलान्वयी हेतुः विवक्षिततज्जातीयवृत्तित्वे सति विपक्षहीनः। यथा सर्वानित्यत्ववादिनां मते – अनित्यः शब्दः, कृतकत्वात् इत्यनुमाने कृतकत्वहेतुः। तन्मते तस्य हेतोः पक्षसपक्षवृत्तित्वात् विपक्षाभावाच्च । केवलव्यतिरेकिहेतुश्च पक्षतावच्छेदकव्यापकत्वे सति विपक्षावृत्तित्वे सति सपक्षहीनः। अस्य वार्त्तिकोक्तमुदाहरणमित्थम्–न निरात्मकमिदं जीवच्छरीरम्, अप्राणादिमत्त्वप्रसंगात्[9]। यन्नैवं, तन्नैवम्। यथा उभयपक्षसंप्रतिपन्नं यद्यदप्राणादिमच्छरीरं तत् सर्वं निरात्मकं दृष्टमिति। अन्वयव्यतिरेकी हेतुः पक्षवृत्तित्वे सति सपक्षवृत्तित्वे सति विपक्षावृत्तिः। अत्र च वह्निमान् पर्वतो, धूमादित्यादिकम् उदाहरणम्॥

इत्थं च वार्त्तिककृतां दृष्टया त्रिविधमिति तत्पूर्वकत्वगतत्रैविध्यम्, अनुमानपदार्थभूतविशिष्टपरामर्शगतत्रैविध्यम्, तथा पुनरपि तदर्थभूत–ज्ञायमानलिङ्गगतत्रैविध्यं चाभिदधत् अर्थात् स्वार्थत्रैविध्यगतत्रिविधत्वमपि अभिधत्ते इत्यहो सूत्रनिर्माणकौशलमक्षपादस्य – यद्यपि पूर्ववदादिपदत्रयार्थेष्वपि प्रत्येकं त्रिविधशब्दार्थान्वयो दृष्टः पूर्वमस्माभिः। तत्र तदन्वयः अनुमानपदार्थद्वारैव भवति न साक्षादिति न दोषः। इत्थं चेदमनुमानसूत्रम् आपातत एकमेव सूत्रं यद्यपि तथापि सम्यग्विचार्यमाणे सूत्राण्येवात्रेति जानीम इति॥

VI

पञ्चावयवान्तर्गतहेतुविचारप्रस्तावे (1.1.35) वार्त्तिककाराः केवलान्वयि–केवलव्यतिरेकिहेतू वीतावीतशब्दाभ्यां व्यवहरन्ति; तथा अयमवीतः अर्थात् केवलव्यतिरेकी हेतुः परपक्षप्रतिषेधार्थ एव भवति, न तु स्वपक्षस्थापनार्थ इत्युपदिशन्ति; तस्मिंश्च विषये बहु विचारयन्ति च । इदं च सर्वं हेतुलक्षणमित्येव मन्वते तत्र वार्त्तिककृतो वैशेषिकवासनावासितान्तःकरणाः सन्तः॥

परन्तु मणिकृदादयो नव्यनैयायिकाः अन्वयव्यतिरेकाभ्यां व्याप्तिस्वरूपमेव द्विधा विभज्य उक्तद्विविधव्याप्तिमद्धेतुः अन्वयव्यतिरेकी, अन्वयमात्रव्याप्तिमान् केवलान्वयी, व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिमात्रवान् केवलव्यतिरेकी इति प्रदर्शयन्ति । अत एवोक्तद्विविधं व्याप्तिपरिष्कारे एव महानाग्रहस्तेषाम्, तादृशव्याप्तिमत्त्वं हेतोर्लक्षणं सिद्धं भवति यतः। एवं प्राचीननैयायिकपद्धति–मुल्लङ्घ्य विलिखतां नव्यनैयायिकानां मार्गदर्शी कः? उच्यते–

"अस्येदं कार्यं कारणं संयोगि विरोधि समवायि चेति"(वै.सू.9.2.1)

इति दृश्यते काणादं सूत्रं कार्यत्वादिना पञ्चधा लिङ्गं विभजमानमिव। परन्तु अनुमानेषु तत्र तत्र कार्यादीनां व्यतिरेकं दर्शयित्वा प्रशस्तपादाचार्या एवमुपदिशन्ति – सूत्रे 'अस्येदम्' इत्यनेन संबन्धमात्रस्यैव, अर्थात् अविनाभावसंबन्धमात्रस्यैव निर्देशः, तस्य च सामान्यरूपेण दर्शितस्य संबन्धस्यैव निदर्शनार्थं कार्यं कारणम् इत्यादीनां ग्रहणम्, न तु कार्यादिरूपाः पञ्चैव हेतव इत्यवधारणार्थं तत् इति । एवं च प्रशस्तदेवाचार्याणां तथा तदीयव्याख्यानरीत्या कणादमुनेश्च अविनाभावसंबन्धरूपव्याप्तिप्रदर्शने एव परमं तात्पर्यमिति सिद्धम् ॥

एवं स्थिते यदि वयमेतत्कोणात् तत्पूर्वकमिति गौतमीयमनुमानलक्षणं

तथा तद्व्याख्यानभाष्यं च समीक्षामहे पुनरपि, तदा प्रतिभायादस्माकमिदम् तत्पूर्वकमिति व्याप्तिप्रत्यक्षस्य, अर्थात् व्याप्तिज्ञानस्य अनुमितिकारणत्व प्रतिपिपादयिषूणां सूत्रभाष्यवार्तिककृतामपि व्याप्तिज्ञानमेवानुमानमूलकारणमिष्टम् इति। अत एव हेतोः व्याप्तिलक्षणस्य परिष्कारे तथा तद्विभागविचारे एव नव्यनैयायिका व्यग्राः न तु हेतुलक्षणतद्विभागविचारे । अपि च– हेतूनामानन्त्यात् वैचित्र्याच्च सम्यग्विभागाद्यसंभवात् । इत्थं नव्यनैयायिकाना वैशेषिकमार्गे आदरः प्रमेयविचारावसरे इव अनुमानप्रमाणविचारप्रसंगेऽपि दृश्यते॥

अन्यच्च – न केवलमयं प्रभावप्रवाहो वैशेषिकेभ्यो नैयायिकान् प्रत्येव वहतीत्येकमुख एव । अपि तु विपरीतमुखोऽपि भवत्ययं प्रवाहः। तथाहि–पूर्वोक्ते 'अस्येदम्' इत्यादिवैशेषिकसूत्रे 'अस्येदम्' इत्येतावन्मात्रेणैव अविनाभावसंबन्धनिर्देशो भवति; निर्दिष्टस्य च लिङ्गस्य 'कार्यम्' इत्यादिना निदर्शनमात्रं कृतमिति मन्वते प्रशस्तपादाचार्या इति दृष्टमस्माभिः पूर्वम्। परन्तु उक्तव्याप्तिमल्लिङ्गं 'दृष्टं, सामान्यतो दृष्टम्' इति यदा ते द्विधा विभजन्ते, ते गौतमसूत्रवात्स्यायनभाष्यप्रभाविता एव सन्तो गौतमीयं पूर्ववत् शेषवत् इति लिङ्गद्वयमपि एकयोक्त्या दृष्टमिति व्यपदिशन्तो मन्यमानाश्च सामान्यतो दृष्टं पृथग्भूतमिति, उक्तरीत्या द्विधा विभजन्ते॥

एवं गौतमीयानुमानसूत्रस्य प्रभावः सांख्येष्वपि द्रष्टुं शक्यते । तथाहि–

"मात्रानिमित्तसंयोगिवियोगिसहचारिभिः।
स्वस्वामिवध्यघाताद्यैः सांख्यानां सप्तधानुमा" ॥[10]

इति प्राचीनेषु सांख्यवार्त्तिकादिषु ग्रन्थेषु अनुमितिसप्तकं तथा तत्प्रयोजकलिङ्गसप्तकं च प्रदर्शितम् । परन्तु ईश्वरकृष्णादयः स्वकीयेषु सांख्यकारिकाप्रभृतिषु गौतमवात्स्यायनाभ्यां प्रभाविता इव

"त्रिविधमनुमानमाख्यातम् । तल्लिङ्गलिङ्गिपूर्वकम्" (सां.का. 5) इति लिङ्गलिङ्गिव्याप्तिज्ञानपूर्वकत्वं तथा त्रिविधत्वं चानुमानस्य दर्शयन्ति॥

VII

अन्यदप्यस्मिन् सन्दर्भेऽस्माभिर्मनसि धारणीयं भवति । वैशेषिकसूत्रेषु प्रशस्तपादीये भाष्ये, एवं गौतमीयसूत्रेषु वात्स्यायनभाष्ये च केवलान्वयिकेवलव्यतिरेकिहेत्वोरुल्लेखो न दृश्यते ।[11] तयोरुल्लेखो वीतावीतेति तन्नामनिर्देशपूर्वं सांख्यग्रन्थेषु परं दृश्यते । परन्तु यदा न्यायवैशेषिकनययोरेकशास्त्रीकरणे बद्धश्रद्धा आसन् ग्रन्थकाराः तस्मिन् सन्दर्भे – प्रायशो वार्त्तिककृतां काले अथवा किंचित्पूर्वतने समये – तौ हेतू नैयायिकैरत्यन्तमपेक्षितौ तथा न्यायनये सादरं संप्रवेशितौ चाभूतामिति मन्यामहे । यतो हि वार्त्तिककृतः पूर्वोपदर्शितसरण्या सर्वानित्यत्ववादिनां शिबिरं प्रविश्यैव केवलान्वयिहेतोः उदाहरणं प्रदर्शयन्तः स्वीये न्यायमते तदानीं तस्योदाहरणाप्रसिद्धिं संसूचयन्तीव । "अर्क्के चेन्मधु विन्देत किमर्थं पर्वतं व्रजेत्" इति खलु लौकिकानामाभाणकः। एवं केवलव्यतिरेक्यनुमानस्य परपक्षभञ्जनमेव प्रयोजनमभ्युपगच्छन्ति वार्त्तिककृतः। अतोऽनुमातुं प्रभवामो वयम् अमू अनुमानविशेषौ प्रायशो वार्त्तिककृतां समये ततः किंचित् पूर्वं वा न्यायनयमभिप्रविष्टाविति । परन्तु गच्छता कालेन तयोरप्यागन्तुकयो– रनुमानयोरत्यन्तप्राधान्यं संपादितं नैयायिकैः। न्यायमतेऽपि केवलान्वयिनः कृते बहवोऽवकाशाः समुत्पन्नाः; केवलव्यतिरेक्यपि स्वपक्षसाधकतया अभ्युपगतम् । अत एव केवलान्वयिप्रकरणं केवलव्यतिरेकिप्रकरणमिति सुप्रसिद्धं पृथक्प्रकरणद्वयम् अनुमानखण्डे तत्त्वचिन्तामणौ पश्यामः॥

इदं त्विह वक्तव्यम्–केवलान्वयिकेवलव्यतिरेकिव्याप्तिज्ञानयोरनु–मित्यौपयिकत्वं मुक्तकण्ठं निराकुर्वन्ति तत्त्वचिन्तामणिदीधितौ नैयायिक–मूर्धन्याः रघुनाथशिरोमणयः। सर्वत्रानुमितौ साध्याभाववदवृत्तिर्हेतुरिति व्याप्तिज्ञानमेव हेतुः; केवलान्वयिसाध्यकानुमितेरेवानभ्युपगमात् तन्निर्वाहाय हेतुसमाना–धिकरणात्यन्ताभावाप्रतियोगिसाध्यसामानाधिकरण्यरूपव्याप्तेर्नावश्यकतैव; तादृशव्याप्तिज्ञानस्य असमानविषयकत्वेन साध्याभाववद्वृत्तित्वरूपव्यभिचारज्ञाना–प्रतिबध्यत्वात् व्यभिचारज्ञानदशायामपि अनुमित्यापत्तेरिति मन्वानाः शिरोमणयः आहुः केवलान्वयिप्रकरणे अनुमानदीधितौ–

> "…..साध्याभाववदवृत्तित्वमेव व्याप्तिः, लाघवात्, प्रायश· साधनभेदेऽप्यभेदाच्च….स्यादेवम्, यदि व्यापकताज्ञानं व्यभिचारबुद्धिं निरुन्ध्यात् । न चैवम्। ….. व्यापकताज्ञानादेवानुमितिर्नानुभाविकम्, नैव यौक्तिकम्….प्रमेयत्वादेश्च…..न तु ज्ञेयत्वादिहेतुकानुमिति–रानुमितिरानुभाविकी…."(Chowkhamba ed. p.136)॥

एवं केवलव्यतिरेकिव्याप्तिमपि दीधितिकृतो नाङ्गीकुर्वन्ति। पूर्वोक्तरीत्या सर्वत्रानुमितौ साध्याभाववदवृत्तिहेतुरिति व्याप्तिज्ञानादेवानुमितिः। पृथिवी इतरेभ्यो भिद्यते गन्धवत्त्वात्, यन्नैवं तन्नैवम्, यथा जलादि इति ज्ञानम् अर्थापत्तिरूपमेव नानुमितिरित्यभिप्रयन्तः शिरोमणयः कवलव्यतिरेकिप्रकरणे एवं ब्रुवते–

> "एवं साध्याभावव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगि–
> त्वमपि नानुमित्यौपयिकम्, गौरवात्,
> व्यभिचारज्ञानाविरोधित्वाच्च।…….
> व्यतिरेकव्याप्तिग्रहाधीना च धीः नानु–
> मितिः, तत्त्वेनाननुभवात्

.......किंतु विजातीया; तत्करणमपि
प्रमाणान्तरम् अर्थापत्तिरेव (p.1360)"

इति। जगदीशतर्कालङ्काराः तथा गदाधरभट्टाचार्याश्च केवलान्वयिकेवल-व्यतिरेक्यनुमानपरिरक्षणविधौ किंचिदपि शिरोमण्युपर्यनुक्त्वैव दीधिति-व्याख्यामारचयन्ति। इत्थं प्रायशो वार्त्तिककृत्समये (स्याद्वा सप्तमेशतमाने) न्यायनयमभिप्रविष्टे इमे केवलान्वयिकेवलव्यतिरेक्यनुमाने दीधितिकृत्काले (प्रायशः सहस्रवर्षानन्तरम्, षोडशे शतमाने) निष्कासितप्राये न्यायदुर्गात्॥

दीधितिकृद्भ्योऽर्वाचीना नैयायिका अन्नंभट्टविश्वनाथपञ्चाननप्रभृतय उक्तानुमानद्वयाङ्गीकारे बद्धश्रद्धा दृश्यन्ते; परन्तु दीधितिकृदुद्भावित-दोषमभङ्क्त्वैव मन्यामहे तेषमाशय एवं स्यादिति– केवलव्यतिरेक्यनभ्युपगमे लक्षणेन इतरभेदानुमानानुपपत्तिः। एवम् अर्थापत्तेः प्रमाणान्तरत्वाभ्युपगमापत्तिः। तच्च प्रमाणचतुष्टयवादिनो गौतमस्य मुनेः सूत्रविरुद्धम् । एवं केवलान्वय्यनभ्युपगमे इदं वाच्यम्, ज्ञेयत्वात् इत्यादि न सिद्ध्येत्। तदपि नेष्टमस्माकं नैयायिकानां काणादेन पथा पदाथसामान्यलक्षयणतत्परीक्षासु प्रवृत्तानामिति॥

परन्तु दीधितिकृतामाशयस्त्वन्यथैव स्यादित्यप्यनुमिमीमहे। तथाहि–नैयायिकानामनितरसाधारणमिदं साम्राज्यम् अनुमानाभिधम्। तच्च उचितैर्निर्दुष्टैः लक्षणैः कार्यकारणभावैः बाध्यबाधकभावैश्च जागरूकतया परिरक्षणीयमस्माभिः नैयायिकैः केनापि प्रकारेण। एवं च यादि केवलान्वयि-केवलव्यतिरेकिणौ अन्यतः समागतौ अत्र प्रवेशितौ स्यातां, तदा व्याप्तिज्ञानव्यभिचारज्ञानयोर्बाध्यबाधकभावो भज्येत; तथास्माक-मनुमानसाम्राज्यमुच्छिद्येत । अत उत्सूत्रं केवलान्वयिकेवलव्यतिरेकिणावभ्युपगम्य अनुमानमहादुर्गोच्छेदापेक्षया वरम् उत्सूत्रम् अर्थापत्त्यभ्युपगः, येना-स्माकमनुमानसर्वस्वस्य न कापि हानिः स्यादिति॥

अयमत्र विवेकः – तत्सूत्रं यत्किंचिदभ्युपगमदोषः पक्षद्वयेऽपि समानो यद्यपि। तथापि दीधितिकृत्पक्षे सोऽभ्युपगमः "सुखमारण्यकमौषधम्" अस्माकं जीवनस्येव नैयायिकानां जीवातुभूतानुमानस्य परिरक्षणाय भवति। इतरेषां पक्षे तु सोऽभ्युपगमो वटादागतो वेतालो जीवनस्येव अनुमानस्य उच्छेदाय कल्पते इति[12]॥

इत्थमिदमनुमानमतिविचित्रचरित्रवत्। यतो हि तत्तत्कालविशेषेषु इदमनुमानं प्राचीनानां सांख्यानां नये मात्रादिभिः सप्तधा विभक्तमपि, प्राचीनेन कणादेन मुनिना पञ्चधा परिदर्शितमपि, महर्षिणा गौतमेन पूर्ववदादिना त्रिधा परिगणितमपि, तथा ईश्वरकृष्णादिभिः सांख्यतत्त्वज्ञैः वीतादिभेदेन त्रैविध्येनाभ्युपगतमपि, प्रशस्तदेवाचार्यैः पदार्थधर्मवेत्तृभिः दृष्टसामान्यतो दृष्टभेदेन द्विधा उपदिष्टमपि, उद्योतकरप्रभृतिभिर्न्यायमार्गोपदेशकैः पूर्वोपदर्शितदिशा बहुधा प्रोक्तमपि, मणिकारप्रभृतिभिः नव्यन्यायप्रवर्तकैः भेदान्तरान् सर्वान् परित्यज्य अन्वयव्यतिरेकिकेवलान्वयिकेवलव्यतिरेकि– भेदेन त्रिधा परिष्कृतमपि, गच्छता कालेन अन्वयव्यतिरेकिरूपैकमात्रविधं मीमांसकानामिव अद्वैतिनामिव इदानीं प्रमाणवित्तमानां विशेषतोऽनुमानपरिव्रढिष्टानां रघुनाथशिरोमणिप्रभृतीनां नैयायिकानामपि इदानीं संवृत्तम्॥

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కోరాడ రామకృష్ణయ్య

వ్యక్తి – విశ్వరూపము – ఆత్మ పరిజ్ఞానము

ప్రముఖ భాషాశాస్త్ర వేత్త విద్వద్విమర్శకులు, సహృదయులు కో. రా. రామకృష్ణయ్యగారు *1950* నుండి *1956* వరకు ఈ ప్రాచ్యపరిశోధన సంస్థలో పనిచేశారు. ఆ సమయంలో ఈ పరిశోధనసంస్థలో అముద్రితగ్రంథపరిష్కరణ, పరిశోధక వ్యాసరచనల ద్వారా, ప్రాచ్యకళాశాలలో బోధన ద్వారాను వారు కావించిన భాషాసారస్వతసేవ మార్గదర్శకమైనది, అమూల్యమైనది. శ్రీ రామకృష్ణయ్యగారి శతజయంత్యుత్సవాలను పురస్కరించుకొని వారి అముద్రిత రచనలలో ఒకటైన ఈ వ్యాసాన్ని శతజయంతిస్మారికగా ఇందులో ప్రచురిస్తున్నాము.

–సంపాదకుడు

నేను, నాది, అహం, ఆత్మీయం అనే భావాలు మానవజన్మమెత్తిన ప్రతివ్యక్తికి సహజముగనే కలుగుతూ ఉంటాయి. ఈ లోకంలో వ్యక్తిత్వమనేదికూడా ఈ 'నేను' అనే భావము మూలముగానే ఏర్పడుచున్నది. ఈ వ్యక్తి 'నేను' అయినపుడు నాకంటె భిన్నమైనదిగా కనబడుచున్న ఈ లోకము, అందలి వస్తువులు నాకొరకే ఏర్పడినవని, నావి అని తలంచుటలో ఆశ్చర్యమేమున్నది? అయితే ఈ 'వ్యక్తి' కూడా ఆ విశ్వములోనివాడే. అయినను తాను విశ్వము కంటె భిన్నుడనని, విశ్వమంతా ఆత్మీయమని తలంచుట మానవున కొక్కనికే సహజమైయున్నది. కారణము మానవుడను పేరు ఎవరు పెట్టినారో ఆ పేరు ఆమానవ శబ్దములోనే ఇమిడియున్నది.

మానవుడు మననశీలుడు, వివేకవంతుడు, విచారణపరుడు, కావుననే 'నేనెవరు? ఈ బాహ్యవస్తువు-ఈ లోకము-ఈ విశ్వమంతా ఏమిటి? ఇది నాకొఱకే ఏర్పడినదా?. దీని స్వరూపమేమిటి? నాకును దీనికిని గల సంబంధమేమి? ఇది ఎంతకాలమిట్లు జరుగుట?' ఈ మొదలగు ప్రశ్నలను వేసికొని సమాధానమునకు సమన్వయమునకు యత్నిస్తాడు మానవుడు. జీవకోటిలో మానవునకు తప్ప ఇతరముల కిట్టి విచారణ మెక్కడిది! తలంపెక్కడిది!

కావుననే వేదాంతపు పాటగాడిట్లన్నాడు:-

"మాధవుదలచే మానసమైతే
మానవజన్మం బెత్తవలెన్
మదమున చెడి తిరిగేటట్టయితే
మహిషంబై జన్మింపవలెన్"

దీనినిబట్టి మహిషాదుల జన్మముకంటె మానవుని జన్మలో గల విశేషము-మాధవుని తలంచు మానసము గలిగియుండుట. ఇచ్చట మాధవుడు సృష్టికర్తకు ఉపలక్షణము. అనగా తానుమట్టితో కుండలు, చెంబులు చేసినట్లుగానే తన కవగాహనకాక దిగ్భ్రమ గొలుపుచున్న యీ విశ్వాన్ని అంతే నిర్మాణము చేసినడుపుచున్నవాడు-ఒక సృష్టి కర్త-ఉన్నాడని మానవుడు తన మానసికశక్తిచే ఒక నిర్ణయము చేసికొన్నాడు.

ఈ జీవితమున తనకుగలుగు ఇష్టానిష్టములు, సుఖదుఃఖములు మొదలగునవి ఆ సృష్టికర్త అనుగ్రహావగ్రహములచే కలుగుచున్నవని యెంచి అతనిని తలంచి పూజించుట వలననో, అతనికి రూపకల్పనచేసి అర్చించి, కానుకల నర్పించి,అతని నామస్మరణ చేతనో, అతనికిప్రియమైన వారిపైనో లేదా ఏమతకర్తలపైననో, తన పాపకర్మముల భారమును బడవేయుట చేతనో, తనకు కలుగు లేదా ముందు కలుగనున్న కష్టములను తొలగించుకొన యత్నించుచున్నాడు. కాని ఈ మతకర్తల మార్గములు భిన్నములగుటచేతను, వారి అనుయాయులు వారిని సరిగ అర్థము చేసికొని యనుసరింపలేకపోవుట చేతనో - ఇవి జనులలో శాంతికి బదులు వైషమ్యమునకు, సుఖమునకు బదులు దుఃఖమునకే కారణములు కాజొచ్చినవి. కావుననే అత్యంత సుఖమును, శాంతిని అభిలషించిన మానవునకు, ఈ మతకర్తల

వలన ఒకేయొక దేవుని పూజించుట ద్వారా తృప్తి కలుగలేదు. ఈ లోకములోని హెచ్చుతగ్గులు, అనుభవించు దుఃఖములు – వీటికి తోడు అనుక్షణము తప్పనిసరియగు మృత్యుభయమొకటి వెంటాడుచున్నది. 'మానవుడెట్టి ప్రజ్ఞావంతుడై, ఎంత చేసినను తుదకు మృత్యువు వాత బడుటకేనా! ఎందులకిట్లగుచున్నాడు? సృష్టికర్తకిదే పనియా? దానివలన నాతనికి గలుగు ప్రయోజనమేమి? ఇది ఎంతకాలము నుండి జరుగుచున్నది? దీనికి అంతము కలదా? ఇందలి పరమార్థము – పరమసత్యము ఏమి?' అను జిజ్ఞాస మానవునకు కొన్నివేల సంవత్సరముల క్రిందటనే కలిగినది. తత్త్వదర్శనమునకై హైందవుడు కొన్నివేల సంవత్సరముల క్రిందటనే యత్నించినాడు. కాని తత్త్వమనేకుల కనేక విధముల పొడగట్టినది. తత్ఫలితముగ పెక్కు దర్శనములు బయలుదేరినవి.

'ఈ శరీరమే ఆత్మ. ప్రత్యక్షమే ప్రమాణము. ఈలోకములో సుఖమనుభవించుటయే పరమార్థము. శరీరపతనముతోడనే జీవిత సమాప్తి. అర్థకామములే మానవుని పురుషార్థములు' – అని చార్వాకదర్శనము గ్రహించినది. లోకమునగల దుఃఖమును నివారించు ఉపాయమునే బౌద్ధదర్శన మన్వేషించినది. మరికొన్ని దర్శనములు ప్రకృతితత్త్వమును పరిశీలించి, విశ్వరూపము యొక్క సహజ లక్షణమెట్టిదో, పురుషునకు, లేదా వ్యక్తికి ఈవిశ్వమునకు గల సంబంధమెట్టిదో విచారింపయత్నించినవి. అణు సంయోగము వలన ఈ విశ్వనిర్మాణము జరుగుచున్నది. బంధమోక్షములకు, సుఖదుఃఖములకు మనస్సే కారణమని, విశ్వరూపము యొక్క తత్త్వజ్ఞానముచే నిశ్శ్రేయసము – అత్యంత సుఖము గలుగునని న్యాయవైశేషికములు కనుగొన్నవి.

ప్రపంచమునకు మూలము త్రిగుణాత్మకమగు ప్రకృతి. దీనికతీతుడు పురుషుడు. ప్రకృతి సాన్నిధ్యముచే కలిగిన అవివేకము వలన పురుషుడు దుఃఖములనుభవించుచున్నాడు. తానే నిత్యచైతన్య స్వరూపుడనని, దిక్కాలాతీతుడనని యోగ పద్ధతినవలంబించి స్వస్వరూపమును గ్రహించినచో ముక్తుడగుచున్నాడు– ఇది సాంఖ్యదర్శనము. వ్యక్తివిశ్వములకు గల సంబంధమును –తత్త్వమును, వేదాంత దర్శన మింతకంటెను బాగుగా దర్శించినది. విశ్వమంతయు ఏకైక పురుషుడగు పరమాత్ముని స్వరూపమే. ఆతని యవయవమేకాని, వేరుగాదని ఋగ్వేదమే పురుష సూక్తమున వ్యక్తముచేసినది. చరాచర విశ్వమంతయు చైతన్య స్వరూపుడగు పరమపురుషుని విరాట్స్వరూపము. 'నేను–నాది' అను అహంకారము గల వ్యక్తులన్నియు ఆ పరమ–

పురుషుని ప్రతిబింబములే. ఈ వేదము- అనగా జ్ఞానము యొక్క అంతమే-చరమ భాగమే వేదాంతము. సత్యమనునది బ్రహ్మ ఒక్కటే. సర్వము బ్రహ్మ స్వరూపము. అదే ఆత్మ. ఈ ఆత్మ సర్వవిశ్వములోను ఇమిడియుండి, దానికతీతుడును అగుచున్నాడు. ఆ సర్వములోనే చేరిన ఈ వ్యక్తి ఈ సర్వము అనేది తనకంటె భిన్నము కాదను భావమును అనుభవమునకు తెచ్చుకొనుటయే ఆత్మపరిజ్ఞానము. విశ్వరూపమును స్వస్వరూపముగా తెలిసికొన గలిగిన వ్యక్తి ఆత్మస్వరూపమును తెలిసికొనిన వాడగుచున్నాడు. అప్పుడు 'వ్యక్తి వేరు, విశ్వము వేరు. ఆత్మ వేరు, పరమాత్మ వేరు' అను భావమే లేకుండును.

ఉన్న సత్యము - సత్తు - ఒక్కటే. దీనినే (ఛాందోగ్యోపనిషత్ 6.2.1),

"సదేవ సోమ్యేదమగ్ర ఆసీత్ -

సర్వం ఖల్విదం బ్రహ్మ

నేహ నానాస్తి కించన" (కఠోపనిషత్ 2.1.11)

ఇత్యాద్యుపనిషద్వాక్యములు తెలుపుచున్నవి. 'నేను'-అనుకొనుచుండు వ్యక్తి, ఆ అహంభావము కలిగిన వ్యక్తి కూడా ఆ బ్రహ్మయే! కావుననే "తత్త్వమసి" (ఛాందోగ్య 6.8.7) అని ఉపనిషత్తు చెప్పినది. ఈ వ్యక్తి యొక్క వ్యక్తిత్వాన్ని పోగొట్టుట కొందరి కిష్టములేకపోయినది. ఆ సత్యాన్ని విశిష్ట సత్యము చేసినారు. అద్వైతము, విశిష్టాద్వైతమైనది. సత్యము - "ఏకమేవాద్వితీయం" కావలెగాని సత్యానికి ఇన్నివిధముల సత్యములుండునా?

ఈ విషయమునే "తత్త్వమసి" అని ఉపనిషత్తు వ్యక్తము చేసినది. అయితే ఈ భేదమెందుకు వచ్చినది? ఆ భేదమేల చెప్పవలెను?' అని ప్రశ్న. ఈ భేదము అవిద్యాకల్పితము. అజ్ఞానము చే నేర్పడినది. నామరూపమయమగు ఈ విశ్వమంతయు అజ్ఞాన కల్పితమే. వస్తుసంయోగము వలన ఏర్పడిన రూపముతో కూడినదే. సంయోగము వియోగమును తేకమానదు. రూపము మారవలసినదే. దృశ్య ప్రపంచ మంతయును అట్లేమారిపోయి మూలద్రవ్యము యొక్క రూపమును పొందవచ్చును. ఆ మూల ద్రవ్యరూపమెట్టిదగునో మానవుడీ కాలమున ప్రకృతిశాస్త్ర పరిశోధనల వలన గూడ కనిపెట్టినాడు గదా! ఒకభాగము ప్రాణవాయువు, రెండు భాగములు

ఉదజని కలిసి నీటిబిందువగుచున్నది. ఈ బిందువు మూలరూపమును చెందవచ్చును. ఆ మూల రూపమనబడు వాయువుల కింకను మూలరూపము కలదు గదా! ఆ రెండు మూలపదార్థములలో భిన్నత్వమెట్లేర్పడుచున్నది? శక్తిస్వరూపములుగా గ్రహింపబడిన 'ఎలక్ట్రానుల' అమరిక, చలనములోగల భేదమే ఈ మూలపదార్థముల భిన్నత్వమునకు కారణమగుచున్నది. మనవారి శక్త్యారాధనము విశ్వచైతన్య స్వరూపా రాధనమే. దీనికి దేశకాలావధులు లేవు.

అనంతము, అపారమునగు ఈ విశ్వప్రపంచమున ఒక్కమూల, భూభాగముపై అనుకూల పరిసరపరిస్థితులు కలిగిన చోట వింత మానవశరీర రూపమొకటి యేర్పడగా, సర్వాంతర్యామియై, సత్యస్వరూపమై యున్న పరమాత్మయే, అందునుజేరి, ఆ క్షేత్ర స్వభావమును బట్టి సుఖదుఃఖానుభవాలను బొందుచు, అజ్ఞానావృతుడు, తిరోభూతుడునై, ఈ శరీరమే తానను అహంభావమును పెంపొందించుకొనినవాడైనాడు. ఇట్లజ్ఞానతిరోభూతుడై శరీరమే తానను నహంకారము వహించిన ఆపరమాత్మరూపమే మనకిపుడు విమర్శనీయుడైన 'వ్యక్తి'. పాంచభౌతికమగు ఈ శరీరమున జేరుటతోడనే ఈతనికొక వ్యక్తిత్వము – అనగా ఆపరమాత్మ నుండి ప్రత్యేకత – జీవాత్మరూపమగు ప్రత్యేకత – వచ్చినట్లయినది. తానీ శరీరముతో ఏకీభావమునొంది, ఈ శరీరమందమర్చబడిన ఇంద్రియముల ద్వారా తానంతఃకరణరూపమున నుండి – నామరూపలక్షితమగు బాహ్యప్రపంచమును – ఈ విశ్వరూపమునుతనకంటె భిన్నమైన దానినిగా గ్రహించుచున్నాడు.

వర్డ్స్వర్తు అను ఆంగ్లకవి అమృతత్వమును గూర్చి వ్రాసిన కావ్యములో చెప్పినట్లుగా ఈ లోకమున జన్మించిన శిశువు అమృతత్వమహా సముద్రము నుండి ఒడ్డునకు కొట్టివేయబడినవానితో సమానము. ఆ ఒడ్డున ఉన్నంత వరకు ఆ లోకపు అమృతత్వమింకా ఆతనికి కనబడుతూనే ఉంటుంది. ఈ లోకపు గొడవలు ఆతనికేమి అంటవు. నిర్వికారుడు, చిదానందరూపుడుగా ఉంటాడు. క్రమముగా ఎదిగిన కొలది, ఆ ఒడ్డు నుండి ఈ లోకములోనికి ప్రవేశిస్తాడు. అప్పుడు అతనికి అమృతత్వ సముద్రము క్రమముగా దూరమై ఈలోకములోని గందరగోళములో తాపత్రయములో పడిపోతాడు. కావున శిశుత్వములో ఆతనికి సత్యస్వరూపము భాసిస్తుందని చెప్పవచ్చు. క్రమముగా ఇంద్రియములు పనిచేసిన కొలది అవిద్యాకృతమగు విశ్వరూపేంద్ర

జాలములో తగులుకుంటాడు. అంతా సత్యమనే నమ్మి దానివలన కలుగు సుఖదుఃఖములను అనుభవిస్తాడు. కాని ఒక చిత్తము – అంతఃకరణము పనిచేయనప్పుడు, పరాకుగానున్నప్పుడు కళ్లు చూస్తున్నా ఎదుటనున్న వస్తువు ఈతనికి కనబడదు. తాత్కాలికంగానైనా శూన్యమనస్కునకు విశ్వమంతా లేనట్లే అవుతుంది. అనగా విశ్వము చూచేవాడుండి చూస్తే వున్నదన్న మాట. లేకపోతే లేదు.

వ్యక్తికి ఈ విశ్వము లేకపోవుట కేవలము అతడు పరాకు చిత్తగించినప్పుడే కాదు, గాఢ సుషుప్తిలో కూడలేదు. శరీరముతో కలిసి అహమనెడి భావనతో ఇంద్రియములను పనిచేయించుచున్న వ్యక్తికి విశ్వమంతా ఉన్నది. దాని నుండి తొలగి సాక్షీభూతుడైన వానికి – అనగా ఆత్మకు విశ్వములేదన్నమాట. ఇదే ఆత్మస్వరూప లక్షణము. శిశువునకు, సుషుప్తిలోనున్న వానికిని ఈ విశ్వము లేకపోవుట తాత్కాలికమే. లోకజ్ఞానము కలిగిన పిదప శిశువునకు నిద్రమేల్కొన్న వ్యక్తికి విశ్వము మరల సాక్షాత్కరిస్తున్నది. ఎందుచేత? ఈ శరీరమునకు సంబంధించిన వాసనారూప కర్మ వలన. ఈ శారీరక బంధమును త్రెంపి వేసి, అవిద్య నుండి తొలగించి, అహంత్వమునువదలి తన సర్వాంతర్యామిత్వమును గుర్తించినప్పుడు ఆత్మపరిజ్ఞానము, స్వస్వరూప ప్రత్యభిజ్ఞ కలుగుతుంది. సచ్చిదానంద స్వరూపుడగు పరమాత్మ ఎందుకీ బాధ అంతా పడవలె? – అని ఒక ప్రశ్న. పరమాత్మకీ బాధ ఎప్పుడును లేనేలేదు. అతడు చైతన్యస్వరూపి. సర్వశక్తిమంతుడు. సర్వాంతర్యామియగు సర్వాతీతుడు. అనిర్వచనీయమగు ఆతని సహజ చైతన్యశక్తి మూలముగా ఈవిశ్వము భాసించుచున్నది. ఆతని శక్తిలో ఆతడు లేడనుట సంభావ్యముకాదుగదా. కావుననే ఆతని మూలముగా భాసించిన యీ విశ్వములో ఆతడును సర్వాంతర్యామియై యున్నాడనుట.

ఆతడొక మాంత్రికుడు. ఆతని మాయాశక్తిచే విశ్వము భాసించుచున్నది. నిత్యసత్య స్వరూపుడగు నాతనికి ఆద్యంతములు లేనట్లే. ఆతని శక్తివలన కల్పితమయిన ఈవిశ్వమునకును ఆద్యంతములు లేవు. ఐంద్రజాలికుని కల్పితవస్తు ప్రపంచమును వాస్తవమనుకొని, చూచి మనము ఆనందించుచున్నట్లే, ఈ మాయా విశ్వములో శరీరబద్ధమై ఈవిశ్వములోనే యుండి దానియొక్క తత్త్వమును గ్రహించుటకును ఈవిశ్వావకాశముయొక్క హద్దును, కాలపరిమితిని తెలిసికొనుటకై పరిశోధనలను సల్పిసల్పి కాలావకాశముల కంతములేదు, అవి అనాదులు అను సిద్ధాంతమునకు

ఇప్పుడిప్పుడే వచ్చుచున్నది. మనకు అనగా భూగోళమునకు సమీపస్థమగు నక్షత్రము యొక్క దూరము ఆరుకాంతి సంవత్సరములనియు, ఇప్పటికి తెలియవచ్చిన అతిదూరస్థమగు నక్షత్రము యొక్క దూరము - కొన్ని కోట్ల లక్షల కాంతి సంవత్సరములనియు ఈకాలపు ప్రయోగ పద్ధతిని తెలిసికొన గలిగిన సిద్ధాంత విషయము. ఇంకను తమకాంతి భూమిమీద పడుట కవకాశము లేనంతటి దూరములో కొన్ని నక్షత్రగోళములున్నవని ఊహించుచున్నారు. ఇక ఇట్టి పరిమితిగల విశ్వమునకు కారణభూతమైనవని తలంపబడిన పరమాణువులను భేదింపగా ఇంకను సూక్ష్మతరములై సంతతచలనశీలములైన శక్తిరూపములగు 'ఎలక్ట్రానులు' పొడకట్టుచున్నవి. వీనికలయికలోగల భేదమే మూలధాతు భేదమునకును, విశ్వనిర్మాణమునకును కారణమట! బాహ్యప్రయోగ పద్ధతిని ఇటీవలే కనుగొనబడిన ఈ విషయము ఇంతకు పూర్వమే ఆంతరంగికమగు యోగపద్ధతిని ప్రాచీనమహర్షులు కనుగొనియున్నారు. అణోరణీయాన్‌మహతో మహీయాన్, ఆత్మాస్య జంతోర్నిహితో గుహాయాం (కఠోపనిషత్, 1.2.20) అని చెప్పి, 'దిక్కాలాద్యనవచ్ఛిన్నానంత చిన్మాత్రమూర్తి' (భర్తృహరిసుభాషితం,1) ని గూర్చి ఆతని ఇంద్రజాలమును గూర్చి చెప్పుట సాధ్యముకాదు గావున స్వానుభూతిచే గ్రహింపవలసినదేయని ఆతనికొక నమస్కారము చేసినారు.

ఇట్లు విశ్వములో నుండి విశ్వరూపతత్త్వమును తెలిసికొనుటకై శరీరబద్ధుడగు ఈవ్యక్తియవలంబించిన ప్రయోగపద్ధతివలన కలిగిన ఫలము, ఆకాలమునందలి యోగపద్ధతి సాధించిన విషయమొక్కటిగానే కనబడుచున్నది. విశ్వతత్త్వమును గూర్చి సాధించిన జ్ఞానములో సామ్యమున్నను, దాని వినియోగములో మాత్రము ఆసామ్యమగపడుటలేదు. ప్రాచీనయోగ పద్ధతి "యద్దృశ్యం తన్నశ్యం" అని ఇది ఐంద్రజాలికుని మాయవంటిదని గ్రహించి, అవిద్యను తొలగించుకొని శరీరసంబంధము వలన కలిగిన అహంభావమును వదలినచో, మృత్యువునుదాటి ఆత్మపరిజ్ఞానము నెఱిగి, అమృతత్వమును పొంది, మహాంబుధిని మరల తేలగలవని సూచించుచుండగా - ఈ ప్రయోగపద్ధతి ప్రకృతినింకను సాధించి ఆత్మభరిత్వమున కుపయోగించుకొను ఉత్సాహమును ప్రేరేపించుచున్నది వలె నున్నది. కావున ప్రతివ్యక్తిన్నీ తనశరీరమువలెనే విశ్వరూపముకూడా అనవరతము మార్పులను పొందుతూ ఎప్పటికైనా నశించేదే

అనిన్నీ, ఐంద్రజాలికుడు కల్పించిన వస్తువుకంటె భిన్నముకాదనీ తెలిసికొని, దానిని వశము చేసికొని తాత్కాలికానంద మనుభవింపవలెననియేగాక, ప్రకృతిని వశము చేసికొని స్వస్వరూపమును తెలిసికొని శాశ్వతమగు ఆత్మానందానుభూతిని బొందవలయునని యత్నించుట శ్రేయస్కరము.

TEXTS & STUDIES

ఆంధ్రభాషారత్నాకరము

పైడిపాటి లక్ష్మణకవి ప్రణీతము

(XXVII వ సంచిక అనువర్తనము)

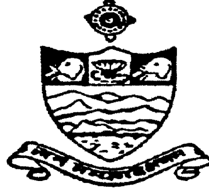
ĀNDHRABHĀṢĀRATNĀKARAMU

(A Metrical Telugu Lexicon)

of

Paiḍipāṭi Lakṣmaṇakavi

(Continued from Vol. XXVII)



Edited with Introduction

by

Dr. K.J. Krishnamoorthy, M.A., Ph.D.

ఆకారాది పదసూచికయందలి సంకేతాక్షరముల సూచిక

అన్య.	=	అన్యదేశ్యము
అవ్య.	=	అవ్యయము
ఆంగ్ల.	=	ఆంగ్లభవము
క్రి.	=	క్రియ
ని.	=	నిపాతము
వి.	=	విశేష్యము
విణ.	=	విశేషణము
సర్వ.	=	సర్వనామము

ఆంధ్రభాషారత్నాకరము

షష్ఠాశ్వాసము*

1

తే.గీ. సోనయన మంచు, పూఁదేనె సొంపుగాను
గురిసెనంటకుఁ బొల్చు; డగ్గఱియనఁగఁ
జిన్నమాటయుఁ; జప్పరాలన్న నుడికి
నెసఁగుఁ బందిళ్ళు; సత్తువ పసయనంగ.

* 57 పద్యములుగల ఈ 'షష్ఠాశ్వాసము' ప్రధాన ప్రతియగు 'అ' (R.No.863 (a) Palm leaf) ప్రతియందు మాత్రమే లభించినది. మొత్తము 125 పద్యములుగల ఈ 'ప్రధానప్రతి'లో ఆశ్వాస విభజనము లేదు. ప్రతి చివరి గద్యయందలి "సర్వంబును షష్ఠమాశ్వాసము"–అను మాటను బట్టి ఈ లఘునిఘంటువు ఆఱాశ్వాసములు గలదని మాత్రము తెలియున్నది. తక్కిన పది ప్రతుల ఆధారమున ఇందలి తొలి మూడాశ్వాసముల గ్రంథభాగమును గుర్తింప వీలగుచున్నది. తదనంతర గ్రంథభాగమైన ఈ 57 పద్యములకు –ప్రత్యంతరము లభింపనందున, ఇందు 4,5– ఆశ్వాసములు కూడ కలిసియున్నవా లేవా? అను విషయమును నిర్ణయించుట కవకాశము లేదు. అందువలన ఈ 57 పద్యములను పైప్రతిచివరి గద్య ఆధారముగా – షష్ఠాశ్వాసముగా పరిగణించి ఇందు పేర్కొనుట జరిగినది. వేఱొక ప్రతిలేనందున, ఇది యథామాతృకముగా పరిష్కరింపబడి ఇందనుబంధముగా ప్రచురింపబడుచున్నది.

ఈ నిఘంటువు యొక్క మొదటి మూడాశ్వాసములు క్రిందటి సంచిక (XXVII వ సంచిక) యందు ప్రచురితములైయున్నవి.

గోణామనంగ గోఁచియుఁ;
గాణాచియనంగ *వినబు(?) గచ్చనఁగోటన్;
కాణింపునాఁగ వినుకలి;
కాణమనం దిండి తెన్గుకబ్బంబులలో.

*'నెలవు' – అని యుండవచ్చు.

3

కయ్యమనంగను జివ్వయు;
నెయ్యంబన నెమ్మియంట నెగడొందు భువిన్;
జియ్యయనా దునిదారియుఁ;
దొయ్యలి ప్రోయాలనంగఁ దోరమగు భువిన్.

నారసంబంట కొప్పు నయ్యారెనాఁగ;
జక్కరయనంగ వంక; రోజంబనంగఁ(?)
బుట్టుటకుఁ బేరు; తంపర యుట్టలంబు;
గట్టువిలుదాల్ప! ముప్పీళ్ల గొట్టు వేల్ప!

5

విత్తనములు గురుములనా;
గుత్తము గ్రిక్కిఱియుటంట; *గూబన రవియున్(?);
హత్తెననఁ దగిలెనంటయుఁ;
దత్తరమనఁ దక్కొడనుట దనరారు భువిన్.

*'గుహయన శ్రవియున్' – అని యుండవచ్చు.

తే.గీ. రోఁజనా మూల్గు; కల్ల కాఱుటయనంగ;
ముంగిలికి మండువాయు; బెడంగు బింక;
మొప్పఁజేయుట కావించుటొప్పుచుండు;
గట్టువిలుదాల్పు! మువ్వీళ్ల గొట్టు వేల్పు!

తే.గీ. కసు అనాఁ బూప; పసుపు చిక్కసమనంగ;
నె ....యనంగను హత్తిమార్తురకుఁ బేరు;
పరఁగు వేగంటిసింగాణి కొరడునాఁగ;
వఱలు వెలివేల్పు! ముమ్మొనవాలుదాల్పు!

8

తే.గీ. రహి యనా మాదిరియు; రంతు, రవళియనఁగ
నమరు సయ్యాట; సరసంబునగు నలరనఁ;
గొల్లరంతున కొప్పుఁ బోకిళ్లు, మెట్లు;
గట్టువిలుదాల్పు! మువ్వీళ్ళ గొట్టువేల్పు!

9

తే.గీ. తొడిమనా వీఁక గెల; సంచు, వడి, నిమిత్త
మమరు; నట్టువ హల్లీసకంబనంగ;
హరువునాఁగ నుపాయంబు కరయఁగాను
నామమౌ; దంట! జోగిబార్వెముపంట!

10

ఇఱియుటనఁ గదియుటనఁదగు;
నఱయనఁగా సందియమున కగు నాఁగిఁబేరున్;
పోఱఁడనం గుఱుమట్టము;
కఱదలనం బుద్దులొప్పుఁ గబ్బంబులలో.

11

తే.గీ. ఈఁలనా సైఁగ కమరుఁ; దక్కోలునాఁగ
వఱలు జాయకమగును; మైమఱువనంగఁ
గంకటంబగు; బూమెలు పొంకముగను
బూటకము కొప్పు వెలివేల్ప! నీటితాల్ప!

12

క. మఱియొకటి పెరయనంగా;
* వలియనఁగా సీతుపేరు వఱలును పుడమిన్;
మొఱకనఁగ వెలితియంటయు;
నరయుఁడు కఱివేల్పుపిట్టనందగుఁ దెనుఁగున్.

* ఈరెండవ పాదమున ప్రాసమైత్రి తప్పినది.

13

క. కరువనఁగ మూస కొప్పును;
కరువలికూననఁగ హనుమ; గబ్బన గామున్;
సురఁటియగు సీవిరనఁగను;
కురుఁజాలునాఁ గొత్తళములకును దెనుఁగులలో.

14

క. కొలుపె(?) యనంగను పెద్దయుఁ;
గలనాఁ గల్గుటయు; హొంతకారియనంగా
వలఁతియనందగుఁ; జిమ్మనఁ
జిలుకుల బలువాఁడి కొప్పుఁ; జిలుకనఁ దూపున్.

15

క. తరమనఁగ వల్లయంటయు;
హొరదియనా మిన్నయంట; హొన్ను పసిఁడియున్;
బరఁగును నారటమనఁగా
నిరవొం దారాటమునకు నింపు తెనుఁగునన్.

16

క. క్రోవియనఁగా నరాలగు;
రావొడియన నాకుఱాత రాచిన పాడియున్;
కోవనఁగ, నేపు, లావనఁ
గా వర్తిలుఁ జేవయంట కబ్బంబులలో.

17

క. కడియనఁగాఁ దావియుఁ; బ్రే
ముడియొఁ బోరామినాఁగ; ముద్దుగనా నే
నడరును; రారాపన రా
పుడు; మారాముడులనంగ భువి నగచాట్లొ.

18

తే.గీ. కోఁచనా బందయోఁ; బ్రస్తరింపనాద
రంబు; నాడికము చౌడోలనంబరంగుఁ;
బావడలునాఁగఁ బేరు తాబందులకును;
గట్టువిలుదాల్ప! మువ్వీళ్ల గొట్టు వేల్ప!

19

క. ఒడ్డిగలన గరిఁబెలు; ము
జ్జిడ్డనఁగా బేసి యనుట చెలువొందు భువిన్;
గిడ్డియనా వెలియావును;
నొడ్డీలనఁ బావురాల కొప్పుఁ దెనుఁగునన్.

20

తే.గీ. ఉక్కళంబనఁ గావలి కోలిఁ బేరు;
బండి గాడీయు; మొగసాల గరిడియనఁగఁ
జను; జగాయన్న గొనబు; విష్ఫలము వీటిఁ
బుచ్చెనా; వెల్లవేల్ప! కేల్ పుచ్చెదాల్ప!

21

క. బంటియనా లోఁతనఁదగుఁ;
దుంటయనఁగ వించు పేరు దొడరుఁ దెనుఁగునన్;
నొంటరగు జెట్టి; మల్లన
దంటై గెల్చుటకుఁ బేరు దగు వెలివేల్పా!

22

తే.గీ. పక్కెరనఁ బేరు వారువం; బుక్కెరనఁగఁ
బిండివంటయు; బెగడునా బీతుపేరు;
పబువునకు నొప్పు సామ్రాణి; కుబుసమనఁగఁ
గురుఁజా; వెలివేల్పు! ముప్పిళ్ల గొట్టు వేల్పు!

23

క. మురియలనఁ దుండెముల కగు;
బిరబిరయనఁగాను వీఁకఁ బెండ్వరలకగున్;
పరుఁజులనఁ గత్తి పిడులగు;
మఱి దెప్పరమనఁగఁ దెంపుమాటడరు భువిన్.

24

క. పోళిమనఁ, బోఁడిమన రూ
పోలిని బేరలరుచుండు నుజ్జ్వలముగనున్;
కూళయనఁ జెనఁటికగు; హే
రాళం బోలంబులేక రాగిల్లుటగున్.

25

తే.గీ. అరవడి యనంగ నెత్తంబు కగును పేరు;
సువ్వెనాఁగఁ, జామీనాఁగఁ, జూవెయంట
గొఱలుఁ; గందువలనఁ జమత్కృతుల కొప్పుఁ;
దోలుదాలుప! ముమ్మొన వాలుదాల్ప!

26

క. చిన్నారి, యనా యన్నను
.... నుడికిన్;
మున్నరకము, మొక్కాలపా
టన్నను జవ్వనపుఁ జెయువు లచ్చతెనుఁగునన్.

27

తే.గీ. జియ్యనా హేడ్డు; తలఁపు రాజీయనంగఁ(?);
జెందపాడి ముగ్గు; టోలాయు బృందమనఁగ;
గగనమన నొప్పు *జతనంబు(?); కాసెయనఁగ
దట్టి; తెలివేల్పు! ముప్వీళ్ల గొట్టు వేల్పు!

*'జఘనంబు' – కావచ్చు.

28

తే.గీ. చీఁక టిరులన్న; సాన తేగా యనంగ;
సురియనాఁ జివ్వ; ఊసనా సుద్ది కమరుఁ;
దండువన గంటె; పట్టె ముద్దండమనఁగఁ;
జెట్ట తొలివేల్పు ముప్వీళ్ల గొట్టు వేల్పు!

29

తే.గీ. లాఁగులిడెనాఁగ నొప్పు మేల్ నాగవాస
పు లతకూనలు బట్టు మొగ్గల కెసంగు;
డుస్సెనాఁ గాఁడెనంటయు; డులిచెనాఁగ
నెడపెనంటకుఁ దెలిడాలు దొడుకుసాని!

30

క. కమ్మని గందమ్మగుఁ గల
పమ్మన; గొజ్జంగులనఁగఁ బన్నీరులకున్;
ముమ్మరమన నెంతేనియుఁ;
దెమ్మనమనఁ బాసె మచ్చతెనుఁగునఁ దనరున్.

31

తే.గీ. సర్దనఁగ గల్చి; చక్కట్లు దిద్దుటనఁగ
వన్నెగల తాయమ్మై లాఁతివారి గొనము
లెంచుటకుఁ; గేరునా నిరసించుటయును
గట్టువిలుదాల్ప! ముచ్చివిళ్ల గొట్టు వేల్ప!

32

తే.గీ. కొణిగెలన బకదార్ల టాకుల కెసంగుఁ;
గొడుపునా గోటికాఁడను నుడువు కమరుఁ;
గడుపు తీఁటన గుమ్మెటం బడరుచుండుఁ;
బబలు నెలతాల్ప! జేజేల పాలి వేల్ప!

33

క. గొరలేమలు గొనయమ్ముల
వఱలఁగ వాయించు వస్తువగు రవణమనా;
నెఱిఁ దప్పెటగును తమటము;
మఱి కిన్నెరకట్టె కమరు మంచాళువనన్.

34

తే.గీ. ఈసనఁగఁ గిన్క; హాసునా నింపుకమరు;
గణితమన నెంచు; బెడిదంబుననఁగఁ జెఱుపు;
కుదురుగా నిల్పుటకుఁ బాదుకొల్పనాఁగ
వఱలుఁ; దెలివేల్ప! ముమ్మొనవాలుదాల్ప!

35

క. ననజీలన విరిదేనెకుఁ
దనరు; హళాహళి కెలుంగు; వలపనఁ గడికిం
జను; నెలగోలనఁ గాఁడికి
నౌన; రువ్విళ్ళూరు లొట్టయొప్పుఁ దెనుఁగునన్.

36

తే.గీ. డంబు తలవాకి లెన్ను వచంబులకును;
గిల్లనాఁగఁ బోనాడుట, క్రేణినాఁగ;
మొగియనన్ మాటు; జవ్వాది కగుఁ బునుంగు;
కట్టు మువ్వన్నె! మువ్వన్నె బట్ట మన్నె!

37

క. చాననాఁగ మీల చిఱుతలు;
మనుగుడు పల్లెంబు; దొడ్డమానిసి మగవాఁ
డన నొప్పు; మల్లెలను పే
ళ్లను బొందును చుట్టుగుల్లి లచ్చుతెనుఁగునన్.

38

తే.గీ. చుంగనఁ జెఱంగు; పరుసంబనంగ నుదిరి
నీటరికి(?), గట్టు కొంగి నొప్పు; దీటు మాఁది;
కొరగనా రాలుటయుఁ; గోర్కె కొఱలు, తనివి;
వఱలు తెలివేల్పు! ముమ్మొనవాలుదాల్పు!

39

క. వీడనఁగా వాడయు; జ
వ్వాడెన నసియాడుటకును; వావిరి నలికిన్;
కాఁడలనఁ గల్వ తామర
తూఁడులగును; దొంతులనఁగ దొంతరలకగున్.

40

తే.గీ. గునియుటన విఱ్ఱవీఁగెనాఁగను జెలంగుఁ;
గమ్మసింగాణి దొరహుమా గణియనంగ;
విక్కెనా హోళి; నత్తునా ముక్కెఱకును
నామమౌ; దంట! జోగిబార్వోముపంట!

41

క. రువ్వైననా రుప్పుట కగుఁ;
జివ్వైననాఁ గోసెనంట; జీలనఁగా నున్
జవ్వని చనుఁగొనలను సొన;
మవ్వము పరువంబు తెనుఁగుమాటల నోజన్.

42

తే.గీ. నాలినాఁ జెల్లు సయ్యాట; కోలగమునఁ
బ్రబ్బుకొనెనాఁగ నంతటఁ బ్రాఁకెనంట
కమరు; నంకించెనాఁ బట్టుటమరు భువినిఁ;
గడుబెడంగుల వెలలేని తొడుకుసాని!

43

తే.గీ. కాఁటియలనంగ వెతలు; ....
.... జడికారు, వేసవికారు, వడఁకుఁ
గారునకు నొప్పు; నామునాఁ గావరంబు;
గట్టువిలుదాల్పు! ముప్పీళ్ల గొట్టు వేల్పు!

44

క. కట్టల్కె కరంబల్గుట;
చిట్టెమువిడుటనఁగఁ బసులు ....

మిక్కిలి స్థూలాణి కగును వ్రటునన్.

45

క. దోఁగెనన జోగెనంటయు;
లాఁగులునాఁ జల్లడాలు; లాడీలనగా
బాగుగ గుంజలకుం దగు;
లాఁగయనా నెటియ యనుట లా ...

46

తే.గీ. .... ట నాఁగ
లామునౌ(?); చాఢునా తాను; రాపుడనఁగ
గుఱుతు మీఱంగ రాయిడి కొరలుచుండుఁ;
బబలు నెలతాల్ప! జేజేలపాలి వేల్ప!

47

ఆ.వె. ....
.... ట్ట నాఁగ రవణి; లొట్టనాఁగ
జోతి కంబమునకు; జోక చొకారంబు;
వెల్లవేల్ప! గట్టువిల్లుదాల్ప!

48

క. తెలిపిట్ట బోదెలన నం
చల కొండికలకుఁ జెలంగుఁ; జాగనఁగా(?) రా
తులకోరి ములికి వాఁడికి;
లలి, నెఱి, యెమ్మెనఁగ గొనబులకుఁ దెనుఁగులలోన్.

49

తే.గీ. కోపులన వింటితుదలు; తారీపులనఁగ
గొనబులతకూనయొక్క జగ్గుల కెనంగు;
నామునాఁ గఱ; నడకకు నడయనంగ
నామమౌ; దంట! జోగిబార్వానిముపంట!

50

తే.గీ. రచ్చకొట్టాలునా హజారంబు; నలఁదు
నాఁగఁ బూఁతయు; మేల్మ్రాఁతనాఁగ అవికె
కమరుఁ; బూరెమ్మలన రెబ్బలలరుచుండు;
గట్టువిలుదాల్ప! మువ్వీళ్ల గొట్టు వేల్ప!

51

క. గాణయనఁ బాటకుఁడు; సిం
గాణియు సింగిణి కెసంగుఁ; గంగగు మఱి పై
ఠాణియుఁ, బైఠణి తగ;
* నాణెము మేల్పంతి; నీటెగకు(?) మబ్బుననన్.

* ఈ పాదమున యతిమైత్రి తప్పినది.

52

తే.గీ. జొబ్బిలెననంగ నాను; జాలెత్తుటనఁగ
జాల్గొనుట కోజ రాగిల్లు; జాదుననఁగఁ
గ్రచ్చుకగు; మాలిమియనంగ మచ్చికయును
నామమౌ; దంట! జోగిబార్నొముపంట!

53

తే.గీ. కైతనా సొరులతకూనగాఁ దలంపుఁ;
డీరెనాఁ గీసునౌ; రయంబెనఁగు లెనఁగు;
లత్తుకన లక్క; బహుమతులకుఁ జెలంగుఁ
గోపులన వెల్ల వెలలేని కోడెసాని!

54

తే.గీ. మెఱములకు నోలి డింకీలు; మేలు, మెచ్చు
లన మహత్; బాళినా హోళి కొనరుచుండుఁ;
'బాడియే?' నాఁగ నను నుఁడి కూడదనుట;
వఱలు వెలివేల్పు! ముమ్మొనవాలుదాల్పు!

55

ఆ.వె. కారియంబనంగఁ గార్యంబు రాగిల్లుఁ;
గ్రాలెనాఁగ నలరుటోలిఁ బుడమి;
నుల్లఁ ద్రోయుటనఁగ నొగిఁ గూల్చుటకు నొప్పుఁ;
వెల్లవేల్పు! గట్టువిల్లుదాల్పు!

56

క. కఱకనఁగ గట్టి; కఱనాఁ
గఱియనుట కెసంగు; మంకు కఱటియనంగాఁ;
గొఱనాఁగఁ బనియుఁ; బెండెము
బిరుదగు; దొరకొంట మొదలుపెట్టుట కలరున్.

57

తే.గీ. డాలునకు నొప్పుఁ బలక, కేడంబనంగఁ;
గొఱలుటన నిండు; పోకిళ్లు కఱదలనఁగ;
నొరపునా రంగు; బిగ్గర యురవడియును;
గట్టువిలుదాల్పు! మువ్వీళ్లు గొట్టు వేల్పు!

గద్య

ఇది శ్రీ మదుమామహేశ్వర వరలబ్ధ కవిత్వవైభవ, యమరనామాత్య పుత్ర పైఁడిపాటి లక్ష్మణ కవిప్రణీతంబయిన యాంధ్రభాషా రత్నాకరంబను నైఘంటుక శాస్త్రంబునందు సర్వంబును షష్ఠమాశ్వాసము.

అకారాది పదసూచిక

ఈ 'అకారాది పదసూచిక' క్రిందటి సంచికలో (XXVII-1984) ప్రచురింపబడిన ఆంధ్రభాషారత్నాకరము తొలిమూడాశ్వాసములకు, అందులకు 'అనుబంధము'గా ప్రకృత సంచికలో ప్రచురింపబడిన 'షష్ఠాశ్వాసము'నకు – అనగా ఈ నిఘంటువున కంతటికి – సమకూర్పబడియున్నది.

ఇందలి ప్రతిపదము ఏభాషా భాగమునకు చెందినదో కుండలీకరణములలో నిర్దేశింపబడినది. పదమునకు ఎదురుగా నున్న అంకెలలో మొదటిది ఆశ్వాసమును, రెండవది పద్యసంఖ్యను సూచించునది.

ఆంధ్ర భాషారత్నాకరము

ఆకారాది పదసూచిక (పరిశిష్టము)

ప్రకృత నిఘంటు రచయితయగు పైఁడిపాటి లక్ష్మణకవి ఆయా పదముల యర్థమును వివరించు నిమిత్తము కొన్ని కొన్ని చోటుల చక్కని పదజాలమును ప్రయోగించి యున్నాఁడు. అట్టి పదములు – ఈనిఘంటువునందలి ప్రధానారోపములు (*main entries*) కాకపోయినను – పరిశోధకుల సౌకర్యము నుద్దేశించి ఇందు 'ఆకారాది పదసూచిక (పరిశిష్టము)' అను పేర సమకూర్పబడి యున్నవి.

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Reviews

1. ŚRĪ CANDRASŪRI'S MUNISUVRATASVĀMICARITA. Ed. Rupendrakumar Pagariya. L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1989, L.D. Series 106. Pages 8 + 24 + 341. Price Rs. 70-00.

2. ĀCĀRYA UMĀSVĀTI VĀCAKA'S PRAŚAMARATI-PRAKARAṆA. Ed. with English tr. by Yajneshwar S. Shastri. L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1989. L.D. Series 107. Pages 12 + 58 + 104. Price Rs. 90=00

3. JAYANTABHAṬṬA'S NYĀYAMAÑJARĪ (*caturtha-pañcamāhnika*) with Gujarati translation. Ed. and tr. by Nagin J. Shah. L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1989, L.D. Series 108. Pages 16+313. Price Rs. 120=00.

4. TRAVERSES ON LESS TRODDEN PATH OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION by Yajneshwar S. Shastri. L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1991. Pages. VIII + 292. Price Rs. 120=00.

5. ŚRĪMAD APPAYYADĪKṢITA'S SIDDHĀNTA-LEŚASAṄGRAHA. Text with Gujarati translation. Tr. by Esther A. Solomon. L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1990. Pages 30 + 591. Price Rs.95=00.

The two works on Jaina philosophy, one work each on Nyāya, Advaita and general Philosophy brought out under the general editorship of R.S. Betai and Yajneshwar S. Shastri mark a distinction of the dedicated work brought out by the L.D. Institute during the years 1989-1991. At one time, in an attempt to preserve the Vedic texts in tact against the corruption of pronunciation and disuse, as upheld by the Mīmāṃsakas, the Vedic ritual is ordained to be performed only with the Vedic texts. Similarly in the medieval period, again to preserve the Sanskrit texts

of the philosophers, the scholars like Appayya Dīkṣita advocated that the philosophies are to be understood only in the language in which they were written but never through the translations in the regional vernaculars (*Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*, p. 21, L.D. Series 114 cited above). But the language cannot be static. Eventhough the roots of culture remain unaltered the needs of the people, including the medium of communication, change demanding the rationale of thinking. Today when the national integration is the urgent need of the day in India, the translation of Indian philosophical literature into all regional languages is a desideratum for diffusing knowledge and dispelling misconceptions. The L.D. Institute of Indology deserves compliments for undertaking the translation of the Śāstra texts into Gujarati.

1. The *Munisuvratasvāmicaritra* is a poem in 10995 Prakrit Gāthā verses narrating the story of Munisuvratasvāmi by Śrīcandrasūri (1137 A.D.). It gives a detailed account of the nine births taken by Muni Suvrata, the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara of the Jains. The Jain philosophical and ethical doctrines are embeded in poetry, which is in fact the best medium for easy and effective communication. One of the manuscripts used in this critical edition is a copy made five years (18-9-1141 A.D.) after completion of the work directly under the supervision of the author. The book was edited with a Hindi introduction by Pandit Rupendrakumar Pagariya.

2. The *Praśamaratiprakaraṇa* of Ācārya Umāsvāti Vācaka (c.5th century A.D.) is an authentic work on Jaina philosophy and religion. Against the usual practice of writing in Prakrit, this work is written in lucid Sanskrit verse of *Āryā* metre. The work is divided into 22 sections (*adhikāras*) dealing with passions (*kaṣāyas*), attachment (*rāga*), actions (*karma*), cause of birth and death (*karaṇārtha*), pride (*mada*), conduct (*ācāra*), religious virtues (*dharma*),

religious stories (*kathā*), soul (*jīva*), consciousness (*upayoga*), states of soul (*bhāva*), and so on. Umāsvāti declares "whichever be the way by which the concept of detachment takes firm root, on that particular way repeated practice should be adhered to physically, mentally and vocally" (*Praśamaratiprakaraṇa*, I.16). When read this with Jayantabhaṭṭa's view that the philosophies of the Bauddhas, Jainas, Śaivas, etc., are also equally authoritative (*sarvāgamapramāṇatve nanvevam upapādite / aham apy adya yaṃ kañcid āgamaṃ racayāmi cet / tasyāpi hi pramāṇatvaṃ dinaiḥ katipayair bhavet / tasminn api pūrvoktanyāyo bhavati durvacaḥ / / Nyāyamañjarī*, p. 86, L.D. series 108 cited above), convinces the universal brotherhood and the common foundation on which the different systems have developed diversely in search of realisation of release from the bondage of birth and death, and cessation of pain. The book was critically edited on the basis of 10 Mss. In the introduction (pp. 1-55) the translator Yajneshwar S. Shastri has surveyed the contents of the *Praśamaratiprakaraṇa* and its place in the Jain literature.

3. The *Nyāyamañjarī* of Jayantabhaṭṭa (c. 10th cent. A.D.) enjoys a distinction in the Nyāya works for the catholic viewing of different systems of philosophy on the one hand and ornamental style of language on the other. The volume 108 under review contains the 4th and 5th *Āhnikas* of *Nyāyamañjarī* with a Gujarati translation by Nagin J. Shaw. Jayantabhaṭṭa discusses the stand of the Naiyāyikas contrasting from the Mīmāṃsakas and Buddhists on the nature and validity of the Vedas, epics, *purāṇas* and the *āgama* works of the Śaivas, Pāñcarātrikas, etc. in the fourth *Āhnika* and the matters of linguistic interest like the classification of words and meaning, and their mutual relationship, difference between *jāti* and *vyakti*, *apohavāda* of the Bauddhas, meaning of sentence, etc., in the fifth *Āhnika*.

4. The *Traverses on Less Trodden Path of Indian Philosophy and Religion* is a collection of twenty-two research papers in English (18) and partly in Sanskrit (4) on Jainism, Buddhism, Hinduism and literary criticism written by Yajneshwar S. Shastri. There are as many as 12 articles (S.Nos. 1-8, 18-20 and 22) on Jainism, in which the author has compared several concepts of Jainism with Buddhism and Advaita philosophy. For example in the fourth paper the doctrine of Truth of Jainism is discussed in comparison with Buddhism and Advaita Vedānta. There are also five articles on Buddhism (9-13), two articles on Śākta-tantra (14,15). The socio-religious problems, suicide (16) and conduct of monks and householders (17) are discussed in two articles. The single article of literary criticism on the *Naiṣadhīyacarita* stands testimony to the command of the author in Sanskrit and clarity in analysis.

5. The *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha* of Śrīmad Appayya-dīkṣita needs no introduction for its place in the studies of Advaia Vedānta. It is certainly commendable that the eminent Sanskrit philosopher Ms. Esther A. Solomon has translated into Gujarathi and the L.D. Institute published it in a good get up. These endeavours may inspire other Indological institutes to undertake translation of śāstra works in vernaculars.

* * * *

1. THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, MADRAS. Vols. XLII-XLVI, 1972-1977. Ed by S.S.Janaki, *et al.* 1987. Pages viii + 300. Price 60=00.

2. THE JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, MADRAS [=] DR. S.S. JANAKI FELICITATION VOLUME. Vols. LVI-LXII, 1986-92. Ed. by K.K. Raja, *et al.* 1992. Pages XXXVII + XVII + 440. Price Rs. 175=00.

A tasteful and choosy collection of articles on Indology covering all the fields of study - language and comparative literatures, aesthetics, art and architecture, history and archaeology, philosophy and religion, textual criticism and research methodology, etc. - presented in the two bumper volumes stand testimony to the high quality of on going research on the Indian Culture both in India and abroad. To mention at random, the articles of K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, S.S. Janaki, K. Krishna Moorthy, V. Varadachari, Wendell Charles Beane, George Abraham, in the number covering vols. XLII-XLVI, throw open new areas of research. There are 20 articles and 45 book reviews.

The bumper number covering the volumes LVI-LXII, contains 40 articles of which three are in Sanskrit and the rest in English. As this is a felicitation volume of Dr. S.S. Janaki, 'the scholars who have contributed to this volume are mostly her friends, colleagues and wellwishers and those who have been guided by her.' 'Ditransitive constructions in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya' by Madhav. M. Deshpande, 'Mantric Practices and the Nature of Mantric utterance' by Andre Padoux, 'The Practice of Renunciation in Śrīvaiṣṇavism' by Robert C. Lester, 'Linguistic Competence and Performance at different levels' by K. Kunjunni Raja and 'Five Dictionaries in the Telugu Manuscript Collection of the Bibliotheque Nationale Paris' by Gerard Colas and Usha Colas-Chauhan are some examples for citation at random.

Foreword by R.N. Dandekar, *Prastāvanā* by Mandana Mishra and the Report on the Dr. S.S. Janaki Shashtyabdapurti celebrations held on 6-6-1990 show the admiration for Janaki of the litterateur and the Biodata of Dr. Janaki her commitment and contribution to Sanskrit. The Editorial Committee and the management of the KSR Institute deserve to be thanked to dedicate this volume to her, who has been spending all her life

for high level and purposive research in Indology. She richly deserves the honour.

* * * *

MUSIC AND MYTHOLOGY - A COLLECTION OF ESSAYS. Ed. by R.C. Mehta. Indian Musicological Society, Jambu Bet, Dandia Bazar, Baroda-390 001. Pages-Book I : 10, 51; Book II : 104, 2. Price Rs.150=00.

The *Music and Mythology* is a collection of research papers by eminent scholars like R. Satyanarayana, Lewis Rowell, and Sunil Kothari presented in two books combined in one volume. The word *mythology* derived from Greek *mythologic* (< *mythos* 'myth' + *legein* 'speak') meaning 'description of the legendary deeds of gods and men.' These legends (*myths* < *mythos*) embody the social convictions and material progress. The social scientists have offered subtle definitions to explain the nature and fix the boundaries of mythology.

Book I contains three essays of R. Satyanarayana in which he describes historically the relation between myth and music and different types of musical instruments like *mṛdaṅga* and *vīṇā*, gleaning from the legends in the Sanskrit literature. Book II contains thirteen essays contributed by eminent scholars, each one attempting to describe the development of Musicology on the basis of the Indian literature ranging from the *Vedas* upto the texts of music. For example while G.U. Thite presented a paper on 'the Gandharvas and Apsaras in the Veda' and G.H. Tarlekar on 'Some Puranic legends relating to Music', Prem Latha Sharma presented a paper on 'Myths in Saṅgītaśāstra' and Usha R. Bhise on 'Vīṇā in Mythology'. There are also some papers of general interest like Jaideva Singh's 'The Nature and significance of Myth', S.A. Dange's 'Protophilosophy in Myths' and Vinayaka Purohit's 'Mythology, Science, Fiction, Music and Marxist Aesthetics'. The volume shall be of immense interest to

those who are interested in the development of Dance, Music and Musical instruments.

SUNDARĪMEGHASAṂDEŚA or DĀKṢIṆĀTYA-MEGHASAṂDEŚA with commentary *Sundarītoṣiṇī* by Veluri Subba Rao. Author, Plot No. 48, Sector XI, M.V.P. Colony, Visakhapatnam-530017, 1991. Pages 10+107. Price Rs. 60=00.

The *Sundarīmeghasaṃdeśa* or *Dākṣiṇātyamegha-saṃdeśa* is a long *saṃdeśakāvya* depicting *vipralambhaśṛṅgāra* 'love in separation' from the pen of the erudite scholar-poet Veluri Subba Rao, who worked formerly as Reader in Sanskrit in S.V. University, Tirupati and retired as Professor of Sanskrit in Andhra University, Visakhapatnam. This poem, composed on the model of the *Meghasaṃdeśa*, is called *Sundarīmeghasaṃdeśa*, because the cloud messenger was to go to the newly espoused wife of the poet, Smt. Sītāsundarī, who was separated from her husband, because of the latter's occupation at a distant place. It was also called *Dākṣiṇātyameghasaṃdeśa* because the route of the cloud is in the southern India from Mangalore on the West coast to Bhimavaram on the East coast via meandering mountains of Sahyadri, rivers Tunga, Bhadra, Krishna and Godavari, holy places like Udipi, Sringeri, Srisailam, Bhadrachalam and magnificient towns like Mysore, Hyderabad and Madras, in Karnataka, Andhra, Tamilnadu and Maharashtra states. The vivid and rapturous descriptions [illegible] typify [illegible] the poetic fancy and simplicity at the heart of the poet.

Even though the poem was started with an aesthetic sense of humour to depict intermitent separation of the poet with his wife, it took a new turn on the mysterious play of destiny when his spouse departed leaving him behind in permanent separation. But she reappeared to the poet in the form of *śraddhā* in the *śāstras* and thus the philosophical thoughts and śāstraic terminology were

couched in romantic lyricism. Not seldem the poet has shown his flare for the idiomatic usage of Pāṇinian Grammar and erudition in Philosophy, particularly in Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta and Buddhism. The author himself appended indexes of ideomatic usages, figures of speech, semantic subtleties, sources of philosophical ideas, and grammatical peculiarities, lest he would be misunderstood. Further he added a short commentary elucidating the appropriate sense intended by him, particularly when double entendre was resorted to. The commentary is indeed *Suhṛttoṣiṇī*, even though it is called *Sundarītoṣiṇī* with a view to perpetuate the name of the dear one of the poet. Her memories remained ever green even after several decades of her demise and hence the poem was never completed with verse after verse being added resulting in a long poem in six cantos with 310 verses in the *mandākrānta* metre. This poem of *vipralambhaśṛṅgāra*, indeed, pleases at once the connoissur as well as the philosopher alike and leaves an indelible impression of *citra-śāstra-saṃdeśa-kāvya*.

M. Srimannarayana Murti

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I, M. Srimannarayana Murti, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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